

The Governors' Officers

A Short History of the Establishment, Mission, and People of South Carolina's First Organized Police

No. 11.

AN ACT TO ESTABLISH A STATE POLICE.

Chief Constable and Deputies.

SECTION 1. *Be it enacted* by the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of South Carolina, now met and sitting in General Assembly, and by the authority of the same, There shall be appointed by the Governor, and confirmed by the Senate, an officer to be named and designated the Chief Constable of the State, who shall be commissioned and hold office for four years, unless sooner removed by the Governor. He shall reside at the capital, and shall appoint in each County one Deputy, Chief Deputy Constable, and as many Deputy Constables as the Governor may direct.

Powers and duties.

SEC. 2. The Chief Constable of the State and the Deputy Chief and Deputy Constables in the Counties shall exercise all the common law and statutory powers of Constables, and all authority given to the police or watchmen by the statutes of the State and by the charters and ordinances of incorporated towns and cities, concurrently with such officers. Said Chief Constable of the State, and Deputy Chief and Deputy Constables in the several Counties, shall at all times obey and execute the orders of the Governor in relation to the preservation of the public peace, and the execution of the laws throughout the State; and it shall be their duty to see that the laws are observed and enforced, and shall especially use their utmost effort and endeavor to repress disorder and prevent crime.

Mark W. Huguley

Cover

The cover image is from the Acts and Resolutions of
the General Assembly Passed at the Special Session of 1868
Of South Carolina.

The Governors' Officers

*A Short History of the Establishment, Mission, and
People of South Carolina's First Organized Police*

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Mark W. Huguley

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**To South Carolina police officers --agents,
troopers, and game wardens. They go when called
and stay until safe.**

~

Who is willing to be satisfied with a job that expresses all his limitations? He will accept such work only as a 'means of livelihood' while he waits to discover his 'true vocation'. The world is full of unsuccessful businessmen who still secretly believe they were meant to be artists or writers or actors in the movies. — Thomas Merton

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Foreword

Although the South Carolina Law Enforcement Division is frequently mentioned in the media, members of the general public often have an incomplete or mixed understanding of the agency. As a former SLED agent, deputy sheriff, and circuit solicitor, I understand how the complex mission of SLED might generate some confusion.

The Governors' Officers tells the colorful history of how the "old" Constabulary evolved into the "new" SLED. Never precisely what leading politicians sought in multiple attempts to recreate the agency, SLED became the unique agency wanted by the General Assembly. As such, it has made a lasting contribution to law enforcement and peace keeping in South Carolina.

This work traces the ebb and flow of a state police force in South Carolina where law enforcement powers are shared between the state force and the primary first responders of the local agencies. The journey identifies the earliest organized state police force from its inception and follows its transition into the modern world of criminal investigation and crowd control. Important reforms in the agency along the way are assessed. One notable recurring theme emerges—that the state must always remain vigilant for corruption and needs an agency like SLED in the ongoing struggle with cash-rich vices.

Drawing on other histories, official records, research materials, and former agents as sources, Huguley produced a concise history from Reconstruction to present. He identifies significant governors and SLED chiefs in the push for a professional state law enforcement organization.

The Governors' Officer tells the story of reforms to the Constabulary and the progress of SLED. But it is also the story of dedicated men and women with leaders who understand the appropriate balance between necessary law enforcement and unwarranted interference. SLED has met the challenge to enforce the law when culture and the political scene dramatically change. South Carolina is better for their work.

—Thomas E. "Tommy" Pope, *Speaker Pro Tempore, SC House of Representatives*

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Preface

In his work titled *The American Legal System and Civil Engagement*, Kenneth Manaster quoted from Alexis De Tocqueville's famous *Democracy in America* says, "It is difficult to draw a man out of his own circle to interest him in the destiny of the state because he does not clearly understand what influence the destiny of the state can have upon his own lot." ¹

A bit of effort is required for one to understand the story of the South Carolina Constabulary, later called the South Carolina Law Enforcement Division or State Law Enforcement Division (SLED), and its influence in the lives of South Carolina citizens. The understanding begins with the state constitution. Article IV Section 15 of the South Carolina Constitution states, "The Governor shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed."

When interviewed for this work, former Governor and U.S. Senator Fritz Hollings quoted the writing of Cicero: "*Salus populi suprema lex esto*" --The safety of the people shall be the supreme law. Sen. Hollings saw the safety of the people as his first duty. As many governors often chose, Hollings used the law enforcement officers he directly controlled as part of meeting this responsibility.

Protecting the "safety of the people" has meant many things. If you were a former slave in the early years following the Civil War, the constabulary possibly provided your only official police protection. If you know of the *Untouchables'* work during Prohibition, consider the officers commissioned by the governors styled as South Carolina's version of these tough men. Consider too, SLED was the lead law enforcement agency keeping the peace during integration. Take into account all but minor crimes have a nexus with SLED whether as an incident for crime statistics,

laboratory analysis, field investigation, or intelligence assessment.

While the scope of SLED activities and involvement with criminal justice is broad, there is little opportunity for the public to make first hand observations of SLED. In most matters, citizens do not directly call SLED for help. Exceptions exist in event of a general breakdown in local law enforcement, and citizen requests are received in matters involving public integrity, civil rights, homeland security, and alcohol enforcement. Notwithstanding these exceptions, SLED routinely accepts cases based on requests for assistance from public officials and other law enforcement agencies rather than private citizens.

Most South Carolina governors quickly learn the organization's role because it is intertwined with their responsibility to the "supreme law". Even the choice of the word "division" in the organization's name reflects the prior organizational structure of the agency as strictly a component of the Governor's Office.

Historians have observed in South Carolina the powers granted to the chief executive are weak. However, two important powers clearly given the governor are the authority to take extraordinary measures during declared emergencies and the power over the constabulary. Often one has been linked with the other.

While South Carolina is a proud state rich in natural and manmade history, it has a violent aspect to its past and present. Governors usually understand this is part of the state's culture. Some governors understood better than others as they had a history of violence in their family or had been personally involved in an official capacity at the scene of a violent incident. One personally exhibited violence toward people of color.

In 1903, Lieutenant Gov. James H. Tillman shot and killed Narciso G. Gonzales, editor of the newspaper *The*

State. His uncle Benjamin had served as governor before James served as Lt. Governor. The news of this incident and the subsequent trial were widely covered across the nation, as would be the case had the event occurred in more modern times.

The news stories of the day discussed the many aspects involved – politics, censorship, values, and violence. James Tillman, like his uncle, was from Edgefield, South Carolina. Historian and law professor James Underwood quoted Orville Vernon, referring to Edgefield, when he said, "Violence was very much a part of the region's culture."² Unfortunately, the unvarnished truth is that while Edgefield might merit some special claim to violence, in reality, it is woven into the entire fabric of the South Carolina culture.

Historians Bass and Thompson quoted former Sen. Fritz Hollings saying, "The typical South Carolinian gets up in the morning, salutes the flag, recites the Pledge of Allegiance, and spends the rest of the day fighting."³ It is under these conditions that governors found it necessary to maintain a law enforcement arm referred to by one past governor as the *governors' officers*.

This work begins with the hypothesis that the earliest South Carolina statute to provide an organized state police force created, in effect, one governmental entity operating under legal authorities and mandates that evolved over the years. Technically, at times, the organization's existence was interrupted, briefly "winking out" until restored, as circumstances required and permitted. However, during these interruptions the authority for constables remained exclusively under control of the governor, and there is reason to believe one of more constables remained available, even if without a specific charter. These facts unify the various iterations of the organization and confirm the longevity of the first organized state police.

Hopefully, the reader will find the following of interest, including the sometimes personal allegories, not simply as a

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story of SLED but also as a story of South Carolina. At times moving progressively for change, and often clinging cautiously to what exists, there is no cookie cutter state police model here; this is South Carolina.

The 19th Century Constabulary

Local constables were mentioned in the Commons House of Assembly Journal as early as 1692.⁴ The earliest constables were regarded as minor elected officials although distinction as a local official meant less when the province was controlled by the Palatine Court of the Lords Proprietors or as an English Crown Colony in early America. Legal scholar James Underwood states, "With some exceptions, such as the freeholder election of colony constables and town common councilmen...selection of local officials such as sheriffs and justices was dominated by central government agencies such as the Palatine Court rather than by the local electorate." ⁵

Among the legal traditions, one was the migration of the common law office of constable from England to the American colonies.¹ This simply meant that the authority of a constable derived from the generally accepted legal customs of the time, rather than a specific statute, and became part of a body of judicial precedents.

In the early part of the 19th Century, the state law enforcement force was staffed by officers known as constables. Governors controlled who became a constable and what they did. But the lack of an organizational structure for operations and support put law enforcement at a disadvantage when the government sought to suppress lawlessness associated with conditions after the Civil War. Constables had served in a mostly unorganized capacity until the Reconstruction^{II} period.

Act 11, *South Carolina Statutes at Large*, 1868, established the first *organized* state police by providing the structure and purpose of the force. Former Union Officer and

¹ Generally, the constable in colonial America was an officer of the district courts, and the position of *magistrate's constable* remains an integral part of summary courts. However, it is separate and distinct from the office of *state constable*, an office addressed herein.

^{II} Reconstruction is the period following the Civil War when the states formerly in rebellion were governed by occupying federal troops or governments comprising, in part, freedmen.

Reconstruction Gov. Robert Scott (1868–1872), widely regarded by South Carolinians as a carpetbagger from Ohio, signed the bill enacting this measure. He held office when the state had a far smaller population^{III} and 15 fewer counties than the current 46.

Whether the constables of this era faithfully performed their purpose under state law or not may depend on perspective. Many of the newspaper accounts of the day describe the constables either as men poorly qualified to serve, who came to the state from the North or were freedmen of color in South Carolina. Often those coming from the North were said to be from New York City.

Frequently, the officers were said to arrest "the most respectable citizens" on charges, which included, on occasion, one offense called "incendiary fires". While the facts and truth of such a charge are unclear, arson was used at times by whites against blacks. The reverse is known to have happened as well. Occasionally, a story would mention constables acting to defend blacks from the unlawful acts of whites, and it is probable this was part of the purpose intended for the constabulary, whose members often worked in concert with federal troops while the military maintained U.S. soldiers in South Carolina.

In an early debate in the state Senate, remarks were offered alleging horrible abuse of authority and crimes by state constables in Edgefield County –where more often than not the reverse was true. Two senators rose to defend the constabulary.

(Senator) Maxwell...during his remarks upon the subject, said that it was his opinion that the force, so far as his observation went, did not redound to the credit of the Republican Party. (Senator) Wright dissented from these views, and paid a high compliment to the force,

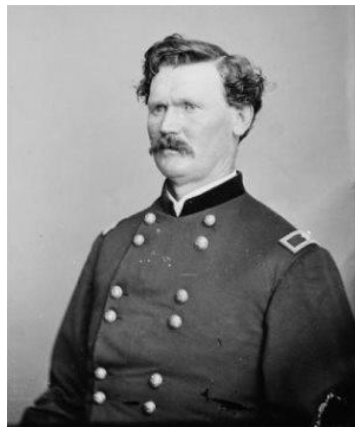
^{III} The population of South Carolina in 1870 was 705,606 (Population 1870).

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as did Wimbush, who said they did not kill people and burn churches in Marlboro (where Maxwell is from;) up in his part of the world the force had done good service, and the people could not do without them...The State constables prevented, in great measure, the oppression of the people.⁶

Chief Constable Hubbard, named in stories appearing in the *Charleston Daily News* and other newspapers of the time, was said to have a corrupt relationship with others, including the stockholders of a gold mining interest in state. In this and other activities it was alleged Hubbard acted under the governor's direction in expeditions that constituted "warfare" against South Carolina citizens. Charges levied from across the state cited mistakes, assaults, and false arrests made by "Scott's Constabulary" or "Radical Constables" as the officers were known.⁷

Attributing conduct of the constables to the governor was understandable. State law clearly made the constables accountable to the governor. Few relationships in government are as clearly defined as that of the constables to the governor. The governor's instructions were not subject to debate. These were undeniably orders from a superior commander that had to be followed.



Gov. Robert K. Scott

Act 11 provided for a chief constable appointed by the governor and confirmed by the State Senate. Constables were to "at all times obey and execute orders of the Governor in relation to the preservation of the public peace, and the execution of the laws throughout the State."^{IV} The chief constable was paid \$1,500 per year and constables \$3 per day when on duty. They were armed, as was considered necessary by the governor.

Irrespective of whether the constables were all trustworthy, conditions warranting the establishment of a state police were extreme. The assassination of elected leaders was not unheard of, and oppression of minorities, even though they were freedmen, began to return. In turn, constables were likely to be a rough group. Many also served in the state militia, which, following the withdrawal of the last federal troops from the state in 1877 became central as a counter to the white rifle clubs as tensions rose between whites and blacks. However, efforts were made to disenable the constabulary well before the federal troops departed. The state House of Representatives voted to remove the enabling clause for the constabulary in the state statutes as early as 1871.⁸

Rifle Clubs and Hamburg

Violence against blacks was widespread. Perhaps the most horrific example is of a massacre in 1876 in the Edgefield County village of Hamburg, located on the

^{IV} Act No. 11, *An Act To Establish A State Police* in the Statutes At Large of South Carolina, 1868. Section 1: Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of South Carolina now met and sitting in General Assembly, and by the authority of the same, There shall be appointed by the Governor and confirmed by the Senate, an officer to be named and designated the Chief Constable of the State, who shall be commissioned and shall hold office for four years, unless sooner removed by the Governor. He shall reside at the capital and shall appoint in each county one Deputy, one Chief Deputy Constable, and as many Deputy Constables as the Governor may direct. Section 2: The Chief Constable of the State and the Deputy Chief and Deputy Constables in the Counties shall exercise all the common law and statutory powers of Constables, and all authority given to the police or watchmen by the statutes of the State and by the charters and ordinances of incorporated towns and cities, concurrently with such officers...

Savannah River. It was here that Ben Tillman, a future governor and farmer with large land holdings in Edgefield County, became a member of a so-called rifle club: this one named the Sweetwater Sabre Club. Hamburg had an African-American majority population. Historian Stephen Budiansky said the town's officials, including the town marshal, were African-American. The members of the Sweetwater Sabre Club resolved to terrorize blacks as part of a campaign to restore white rule.

These intentions came to a head for Hamburg following a hostile confrontation between white men in a buggy and a black militia company in military formation on a Hamburg street. The whites refused to yield the way to the troops. Marshal Jim Cook threatened to arrest the trouble-making white men as they departed. However, they returned the next day to swear a warrant against the militia captain for blocking the street. Magistrate Prince Rivers, a black man, deferred acting on the complaint because of the tempers and contempt shown at the hearing by the white complainants.

However, instead of a judicial hearing, over 100 men rallied with the Sweetwater Sabre Club to execute their plan of terror. There was extensive gunplay, the marshal's tongue was cut out, and seven captured militiamen were executed. According to Budiansky, Tillman was an active participant and is reported to have said those killed were "offered up as a sacrifice to the fanatical teachings and fiendish hate of those who sought to substitute the rule of the African for that of the Caucasians of South Carolina." ⁹

Magistrate Rivers was removed from office, the state charter of Hamburg was repealed, and the town was swept away by the Savannah River in a great flood. This is the background of conditions requiring the formation of a state police.

It is also of note that in nineteenth century America, maintaining order, when local law enforcement was

exhausted, fell to the militia. Policing in America was still young. The City of New York Police Department was established in 1845, although it represented a consolidation of many previously functioning organizations. Moving toward an organized state police force would represent progress as it made available a pseudo-military resource to the state that might be preferable to a genuine military force.

The federal law, known as the posse comitatus statute, prohibited federal military forces from performing domestic law enforcement; but this law was not enacted until 1878. Previously, there was a concern in the North about states recently in rebellion having military forces. Regardless of the federal law, state militias were not prohibited from law enforcement functions, and the role of the state constabulary versus the militia was at times likely to be a distinction with only a slight difference. Nonetheless, some of the constables possessed less than sterling reputations.

Constable Charles Good

One militia member Charles Good is believed to have also served as a state constable and informs us about the background of constables at the time. Good was a freed slave from York County. He served as a union soldier in addition to his time in the militia. Good was charged with multiple crimes and held membership in a black masonic-like organization regarded as subversive by many whites. Whether his criminal history and alleged subversive activity were valid is uncertain. The perception of his character was likely, at least in part, to have been influenced by bias against freed slaves, in particular those holding any position of authority. As a constable, Good was a reflection of a short and intense period of change during the political and social upheaval following the Civil War. He might be thought of as a transitional law enforcement officer, someone who served

during the state's first attempt to operate a state police force.¹⁰

The sentiment of many, mostly white newspaper writers regarding the state Constabulary during Reconstruction was one of contempt. The constables, often backed by federal troops, were regarded as anything from nuisance to pawns of the Republicans set on abusing the white Democrats. There were exceptions to this critical view. *The Charleston Daily News* in 1870, referring to the state Constabulary, said, "Before they came if a man was murdered, a constable came along in about four days afterward with a magistrate's warrant charging the murderer with 'assault and battery with intent to kill.' The State constables prevented, in [a] great measure, the oppression of the people."¹¹

All the same, feelings against the state Constabulary were strong, and supporters had to defend against efforts to eliminate the force. *The Charleston Daily News*, in 1871, reported that the South Carolina House of Representatives "...struck out the enacting clause of the Senate bill to abolish the act creating the State Constabulary, and sent word thereof to the Senate."¹² Also, according to the *Intelligencer* in 1877, an English visitor to the statehouse (the state capitol building) remarked on his observations; "...the Democrats declare they will offer armed resistance to the State constabulary unless it is supported by federal troops."¹³

Over time, the state Constabulary would become less of a paramilitary organization and more of a police force. The role of the state Constabulary would evolve with this transition and with other changes called for by governors and authorized by the General Assembly. By 1876, Reconstruction ended, and the state Constabulary, along with Senate confirmation of the chief, temporarily vanished.

In the following years, the prevailing conditions interrupted the operation of the state Constabulary. Therefore, the regular conduct of constabulary business during this period might be regarded as intermittent. However, the deep-rooted authority of the governors to appoint state law enforcement officers was not challenged, and constables seemed ever present on a scale varying with the tasks assigned by statute.

Just as the South Carolina Constitution of 1868 was replaced in 1895, the "enabling clause" of Act 11 was removed. However, an organized state police force became part of the culture and history of the state. The South Carolina State Constabulary preceded the South Carolina Law Enforcement Division (SLED) in time and name, but the officers of both were constables. Both possessed the authority of officers of a constable at common law. These were not separate and distinct organizations, but one that would undergo reforms through a long period, from 1868 to 1974, and continuing still.

Ben Tillman and the Disagreeable Dispensary

The post-Reconstruction record of the state Constabulary reveals that the governors primarily used state officers to enforce the state's alcohol policy. The state was in the business of regulating its citizens' morals. It was Gov. Benjamin Ryan Tillman who started the law enforcement focus on morals with the blood of black citizens on his hands. The shift from the general purpose of enforcing the law of the Reconstruction era with a para-military force to law enforcement focused on relevant alcohol statutes by a plainclothes force was a change. However, change and reform are not necessarily the same. Change might be about making something different. Reform is more about improving something and making it better. As a reform for law enforcement, the Dispensary years saw total failure in the key measure of success: public confidence. The state Constabulary was widely seen as an organization comprising

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officers who violated personal liberties in service of an unpopular law.

Before the National Prohibition Act, advocates of temperance and those opposed in South Carolina argued over the policy for alcohol. In 1885, 23 counties in South Carolina allowed the sale of alcohol with a license. However, in around 1890, a local option law resulted in the sale of alcohol prohibited in much of the state. The successful prosecution of violations and stiff penalties did not prevent widespread bootlegging. Everyone from temperance advocates to lawful liquor dealers who disdained the competition from unlawful sources sought a change. In these conditions, Gov. Tillman, according to historian John Eubanks, seized an idea put forward by T. Larry Gantt, editor of the *Columbia Daily*, to prohibit alcohol production and sales, except by government dispensaries.¹⁴

Passed with considerable effort, Act 313, *South Carolina Statutes at Large*, 1893, established the Dispensary. Under the statute, the governor appointed constables to investigate violations of the Dispensary laws. Many citizens, however, found enforcement of the Dispensary disagreeable. Tillman acknowledged public resentment in remarks to the General Assembly. Eubanks quoted Tillman's remarks given to the General Assembly: "I judge from the reports of the Chief Constable that almost all the people of Charleston are in league against the law and determined to overthrow it."¹⁵

However, the depth of displeasure with Tillman and his plan did not fully surface until March 1894. That month an anti-Dispensary riot occurred that is among South Carolina's worse examples of respect for the rule of law.

A constable working in Darlington encountered strong anti-Dispensary attitudes and requested reinforcements. Three constables were dispatched to assist. Rumors circulated of abuses by the constables and armed men followed the officers. People spoke openly of shooting the constables. The county dispenser wired the governor saying,

"Constables raid. Armed men walking the streets swearing they will shoot." Another telegram said, "Fighting sure. Men with guns swear they are going to kill."¹⁶

Gov. Tillman wired the commander of the Darlington Guards, a militia company. "Put your command under orders of the sheriff and preserve peace."¹⁷ But disturbances erupted throughout the next day over the constables' presence. As constables broke up illegal liquor businesses, known as *blind tigers*, they encountered intense anger and the armory was robbed of weapons.

Capt. Henry Thompson, the commander of the Darlington Guards, spotted a crowd with the rifles taken from the armory and obtained return of the weapons. Later, Chief Constable T. S. Gaillard arrived with 18 additional constables and completed their work. Nonetheless, a threatening crowd gathered at the railroad depot.

Chief Gaillard and three constables went to one side of the depot for a train to Charleston. The other constables waited for a train to Cheraw. The crowd grew and heckling began when a youth cursed Constable J. D. McLendon. Gunplay resulted and the youth and Constable R. H. Pepper were killed. Constable McLendon and the Darlington police chief were severely injured. Others, including citizens and constables, received less serious wounds.

A train, straining metal against metal on the railroad tracks, pulled out with Gaillard and three constables onboard. However, they came under heavy gunfire about one-half mile from the station. A mob sought to board the train, which increased speed and escaped. The constables at the station fled and remained hidden until calm returned. At the jail, the wounded McLendon was guarded until the sheriff helped remove him to a safer location.

Darlington was in rebellion over a period of three days, and across the state militiamen refused to assemble. Order returned eventually and the constables returned to

Columbia. Gov. Tillman called the insurrection the "Darlington Whiskey Rebellion," a reference to the better-known "Whiskey Rebellion"^v of 1791.¹⁸



Dispensary "Jo-Jo" bottles (Source: Treasurenet.com)

Side by side stories in the *Abbeville Press and Banner* on October 17, 1894, read together seemed to conflate the mixed opinions of some citizens about the Dispensary. One account titled "Another Haul" reported a raid by the constabulary in Columbia and gave a rather positive description of the constabulary's action. "A successful raid was made by State constables on a blind tiger establishment on Gervais street yesterday afternoon, and two one-horse wagon loads of contraband liquors were confiscated. Chief Fant and Constables Beach and Jones were assisted by Deputy Sheriff Cooper."¹⁹

Often local law enforcement officers turned their backs on the work of the constabulary. But in the Columbia raid the deputy had been appointed by Richland County Sheriff

^v The Whiskey Rebellion was the result of a federal excise tax on distilled spirits. It received a surprisingly hostile reception from grain farmers in Pennsylvania, who resorted to mob actions. President George Washington raised a militia force of about 12,000 men to restore order and maintain federal authority.

Cathcart to serve the [search] warrant. The other story was more typical of resistance to the constabulary. It reported an incident in Greenville where constables attempting to search a residence were met by citizens whose behavior threatened a riot. The city police arrested a Constable (FNU) Workman, afraid of what might happen if they did otherwise, and the county sheriff refused to assist the constables the next day.²⁰

According to news reports in *The Intelligencer*, in 1897, Gov. William Ellerbe (1897–1899) withdrew constables and then undertook a reorganization of the Dispensary officers. It is possible but uncertain that non-Dispensary constables also existed at this time. Ellerbe focused on the Dispensary constables, which he reduced from 56 or 57 officers to an unknown number, said to be not greater than 35. The state had a chief constable and the upper and lower divisions had chiefs.²¹

Before the Dispensary ended in 1907, seven state constables died in adversarial actions across the state.^{VI} As for the effort to create a permanent state police force, the Dispensary constables' longest lasting contribution might be moving from a uniformed to a plain-clothed force. The official investigative techniques used by constables during this time were also a first for the state. Constables posted at state borders used interdiction methods to keep alcohol out of the state. However, the most useful and most disagreeable techniques involved the use of undercover operatives to gather information and evidence. This would become a lasting legacy of the Dispensary era even though its early use is unknown to many.

Future governors would occasionally speak of disbanding the state Constabulary. In reality, at least some constables likely persevered in holding their office. The greatest threat of discontinuing the state Constabulary came

^{VI} Seven state constables of the Dispensary System were killed in adversarial actions over the years. They were Robert Hayne Pepper, March 30, 1894; Robert A. Pettigrew, July 13, 1895; Jonathan J. Moseley, October 13, 1895; John B. Cornwell, Jr., December 7, 1899; James P. Farmer, February 22, 1908; Cotesworth Pinckney Fishburne, July 6, 1909 and James Rollin Cooler, March 30, 1913 (Ardila, 2014).

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when there was no appropriation to fund it. Even with that, state constables remained available to the governor.

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Early 20th Century Constables

Notwithstanding some officers held on to their jobs, times were hard for constables in the first decade or two of the 20th Century. In his last days as governor, Duncan Heyward (1903 -1907) gave his final annual address to the General Assembly. Gov. Heyward noted, "That a large number of counties in the State have voted out local Dispensaries;...the people of the State have recently expressed in no uncertain terms their disapproval of the present operation of the Dispensary law, all demand imperatively that something should be done to correct existing evils." ²²

Seven days after Gov. Heyward's address, Gov. Martin Ansel (1907-1911) gave his inaugural address on January 15, 1907. Gov. Ansel, following on Heyward's remarks, said, "The people of the State have spoken in no uncertain sound, and we cannot mistake their meaning, that the State dispensary system must be abolished, and that there must be enacted in its stead, a law providing for local county option, as between county prohibition and county dispensaries." ²³

Newspapers reported that under the Carey-Cothran Act, the funding mechanism of the state Constabulary was eliminated because the state dispensary was eliminated. The state established what was referred to as a "winding up" commission to oversee shutting down the state dispensary. Gov. Ansel sought legal advice concerning his authority under the Carey-Cothran Act to employ constables. He was advised, "...there is neither legal authority nor money with which to pay for constables out of the money to be handled by the winding up commission." ²⁴

Gov. Ansel appointed a limited number of special officers (state constables) and told the counties they must pay for constables, if needed. He appointed constables, apparently as requested, for Chester, Greenwood, and

Greenville Counties, and apparently said these counties would have to pay the cost for the officers.

He [the governor] has full authority to appoint constables even if they are not asked for by constituted authorities and will do so if he thinks it necessary in any county. Governor Ansel...wishes it plainly and definitely understood that, under the terms of the Carey-Cothran bill and the bill to wind up the State dispensary, that the State constabulary force is abolished and there is no State fund from which to pay the constables. He expects to see the laws enforced and has already taken the matter up with all sheriffs, mayors and magistrates, but wherever there is a legitimate need for constables, they will be appointed, to be paid for out of dispensary profits, where there are dispensaries, and out of the general county funds where there are no county dispensaries.²⁵

The circumstances of concluding the business of the Dispensary made for confusion regarding the constabulary. Yet, even though greatly diminished, the constabulary did not disappear completely.

Prohibition and Organized Labor

In 1915, South Carolina prohibited alcoholic beverages three years ahead of the ratification of the 18th Amendment to the United States Constitution, which made the manufacture, sale, or transportation of intoxicating liquors illegal. However, in 1918, the only state law enforcement officer listed in the *Legislative Manual* of the General Assembly was the chief game warden, W.H. Gibbs. The state level enforcement of alcohol restrictions was sketchy. Nevertheless, state statute and the U.S. Constitution together made the state legally dry until the 21st Amendment in 1933, and reform in state law two years later completed the restoration of legal alcohol use. Over this

period, the state Constabulary quietly renewed a prominent role by enforcing Prohibition.

Enforcement of Prohibition was disagreeable to many; but it did not result in virtual rebellion like the Dispensary System did. Investigating illegal liquor continued by the constabulary and remained risky work. State constable J. Fletcher Bateman was fatally wound by gunfire on July 17, 1919, when he and the chief of the Camden Police Department were ambushed as they raided a still in the Beaver Dam section of Kershaw County.²⁶

It was no surprise, as with the Dispensary, Prohibition required a constabulary. By 1920, newspapers reported that the Prohibition Law created a need for an enlarged state Constabulary. Gov. Robert Cooper (1919–1922) wanted the General Assembly to provide 50 to 75 men for this work and said, "It should be encumbent (sic) upon all officers to enforce all laws."²⁷ His remark seemed to state the obvious, but as with the Dispensary some South Carolinians, presumably those who enjoyed a cocktail, were less than enthusiastic about Prohibition.

In some counties there were reports of sheriff's deputies collaborating in illegal liquor distribution.^{VII} Cooper said illicit distilleries were operating throughout the state and thought an appropriation of \$75,000 to \$100,000 sufficient to operate an expanded state Constabulary. Cooper recommended, "The proposed State constabulary should have charge of enforcing the fish and game laws, thereby making special officers for these purposes unnecessary."²⁸

It is unclear what reception the General Assembly gave to Gov. Cooper's proposal. However, in 1922, the state Constabulary only had nine officers. Gov. Wilson Harvey (1922-1923), who as lieutenant governor became governor upon the resignation of Gov. Cooper, earned a reputation as

^{VII} Berkeley County has been mentioned by some as a locale for such activity.

the *law-enforcing governor* and proposed using the nine men as a *floating* state Constabulary.

Rather than base the officers in the counties, they would reside in Columbia and be sent where needed. The idea was that a unit made up of men not known locally would be more effective in catching violators. There were far too few men for the job. In his 1923 address to the General Assembly, Gov. Harvey addressed a lack of public support for prohibition.

The attention of the General Assembly is called to the hampering restrictions surrounding the enforcement of the prohibition laws. Local sentiment in many instances is against the law. This sentiment reacts and finds its expression in the attitude of local and minor officers of the State who feel that a part of their constituents (sic) are passive and still others antagonistic to the law and these officers become indifferent to its enforcement. The indifference goes in some instances to open connivance with the law violators, or at least to a frustration of the law when exercised by State authorities. The result is, in many instances, that local officials do little, if anything, beyond keeping down a few negro violators. These officers claim as an excuse that they are well known to the violators, and that the violators keep them in sight. The law requires, before searches can be made, that warrants be sworn out before a Magistrate in the county. In frequent instances when State constables, unknown to local violators call on Magistrates for warrants, the Magistrates while introducing the constables to friends, and by dilatory tactics fritter away a sufficient length of time in which to get word to the party to be searched, the obvious result of which is that the dealer has disposed of or

hidden away his stock before the constable arrives to make the search. The anomalous situation is thus presented of men who are drawing the taxpayer's money to uphold the law actually using their offices to frustrate the law. Power should be vested in the Governor's office or the Attorney General's office to issue such warrants, or constables bearing direct commissions from the Governor should be allowed to make searches without the red tape of going through a local magistrate. The efficacy of such a procedure would be of inestimable good and create a wholesome respect for the searching squad, and markedly increase the efficiency of their work.²⁹

Citizens' opinion regarding the performance of the state Constabulary during Prohibition seemed to correspond with what they thought of Prohibition. Temperance groups thought the constables were doing good work. Advocates of alcohol thought the opposite. The divided opinion was common elsewhere in the South, as in this speech given by a Mississippi legislator who spoke of his position on alcohol: "The speaker powerfully stated his opposition to whiskey, if the term meant, 'the devil's brew, the poison scourge, the bloody monster that dethrones reason, destroy the home, etc.' At the same time, the same speaker asserted that he was unequivocally in favor of whiskey if the term meant 'the oil of conversation, the philosophic wine, the elixir of life...Christmas cheer, et cetera.'" ³⁰

Although the size of the state Constabulary rapidly increased to an uncertain number, public confidence in the competence of the force did not. Gov. Thomas Gordon McLeod (1923–1927) revoked all constable commissions by 1923, according to the *Cherokee Times*.³¹ McLeod used the revocations to weed out officers believed less than conscientious in their duties. Some communities expressed support for constables and requested that they be reinstated

by the governor. Soon, those constables thought to be needed were reinstated.

Some opinions may have held that the officers enforce more laws than just those relating to alcohol. Some opinion also may have held that volunteer officers help without creating a financial burden on the state. Whatever the reason, a major shift in law and enforcement strategy occurred with the passage of a new state law.

Act 91, *South Carolina Statutes at Large*, 1923, expanded constables' duties by authorizing the governor to appoint constables to "assist in the detection of crime and the enforcement of any criminal law." The governor could make appointments with or without compensation. Constables, at times called state detectives, worked general crimes but concentrated on alcohol and vice offenses. The gubernatorial appointments made for excellent patronage and contributed to the perception of the state Constabulary as being too political. Irrespective of the wisdom in this act, the effects were long lasting.

Even as citizens and politicians might have considered the political nature of becoming a constable and possibly whether the public received its money's worth from the constabulary, some constables were literally giving their all. Work in the mountains to counter illegal whiskey production also was difficult and dangerous due to the remote nature of the area. To emphasize the remoteness of the mountain region, in 1925 the entire state had no more than 225 miles of paved roads.³² Construction was difficult in the mountains, and the number of paved roads tended to increase according with plans to connect significant economic or geopolitical sites such as county seats.

On Hogback Mountain in the "Dark Corner" region of Greenville County, state Constable James Holland Howard was killed by moonshiners on January 31, 1924. Howard was a non-compensated constable, and when not engaged with law enforcement duties, was also a farmer. At the time of his

death, Howard was working with a federal prohibition agent.³³

During the inquest into Howard's death, the unusual sight of residents from the "dark corner" –mountain men— was observed in the city. "Men of a type such as seldom seen on the streets of Greenville...packed the room. Tall and short. Young and old. Overalls and slouch hats. Unshaven faces and silver beards. Keen eyes which watched every move. A strained expression on the faces which showed that ears sensitive to the slightest sound were listening to every word. Lips closed tight, indicative of a lack of verbosity."³⁴

Holland Pittman and Alex Pittman, a son and father pair, were convicted of the murder of Howard. With the production of illegal liquor as a widely accepted industry in Dark Corner and due to the familial relationship of the Pittmans, the tragic incident became the subject of a "mountain" ballad. The ballad is said to have originated around the time of the killing, with lyrics attributed to Charlie Nelson, whose family roots are in the Gowensville area near Dark Corner. Nelson's father, Luther Nelson, ran a cotton gin in Gowensville and the surnames given in the ballad remain common in the region.

They went upon Hogback Mountain
To the top of Chestnut Hill;
And just beyond a little hollow
They found the fatal still.
Reuben Gosnell hid behind some bushes,
Tod Holland the crowd to flush;
He heard the voice of an angry man cursing,
And soon the voice hushed.
He heard some shots and a call, Come, Reuben,
And that was all Holl said;
For when he reached the fatal distillery,
Poor Holland was lying dead.
Reuben called to Holland before he reached him;
Holl was lying on his face and head;
Holland Pittman said, He will not answer,

Cause he's already dead.
Reuben then drew his gun on Holland Pittman,
Said, Tell me, or you will die.
Holland Pittman said, It was Henry Lindsey,
Lord knows it was not I.
Reuben took Holl Pittman on to jail,
Said, I'll be a coming back.
He came back and got Wade Plumley.
To swear to Alex Pittman's track.
They brought the Pittmans into court,
It was on one Thursday morn.
Alex Pittman said, I'm an innocent man;
I was at home shucking corn.
Alex Pittman wore a neat dress shoe,
The color of it was tan.
Reuben Gosnell said, That's the first fine shoe
I've ever seen on that man.
They brought the Pittmans back to court,
Both father and son were there.
Judge Mauldin said, You two men
Will die in the electric chair.
On the twenty-seventh day of June,
Nineteen hundred and twenty-four,
You will both pay the penalty for killing Holland
Howard,
And you'll never still anymore.³⁵

-- Charlie Nelson

State constable J. B. Amaker, a former city police detective, was shot and killed by an assailant with a load of buckshot. He died instantly on July 6, 1927. His death occurred during a liquor still raid in Horry County. The officer left a wife and four children in Columbia where the family lived. Fellow constable T. J. Cunningham, returned fire killing the suspect, identified as Harvey Granger. He was struck more than once with shots from Cunningham, nearly taking off Granger's arm in the process. Gov. John G. Richards (1927-1931) called constable Amaker an able man of

courage and dependability.³⁶ Richards is widely regarded by state historians as one of the best governors of the time.

Late the next year, Chief John W. Richardson played a key investigative role in a murder investigation taking him into Georgia. Richardson identified a witness in the crime, Helen Gentle, who helped dispose of the car used by Charles R. Vaughn in the murder. Richardson located the witness in Atlanta where she was arrested on related charges on November 6, 1928 and brought back to South Carolina by Richardson. Notwithstanding a regular emphasis on alcohol and vice, the constables always worked crimes against persons or property as well.³⁷

Helping to provide context for law enforcement priorities of the day, Gov. Richards wanted to ensure enforcement of the state's "blue laws". It also was during Richards' administration that a special committee of the General Assembly looking into unrest and strikes in the state's textile industry concluded textile workers were mistreated by management. However, long hours and low wages would persist and become a contributing factor in efforts to organize textile labor. Keeping the inevitable strikes peaceful soon was to become an important task for state law enforcement as most local governments lacked manpower to adequately cover such events. For the time, however, the top enforcement priority remained control of a liquid substance favored by many --alcohol.

Ibra C. Blackwood (1931–1935) in his inaugural address as governor spoke in part on the need for authorities to enforce the law irrespective of its popularity. Gov. Blackwood referred, of course, to the ban on alcohol and said, "In this connection, I would recommend that the Prohibition Law, with the other important laws of this State, be vigorously and fearlessly enforced and that the fact that there is difference of opinion as to the success of its enforcement or the wisdom of its continuance be not accepted as an excuse for receding from the enforcement of this important provision of our law."³⁸

Later in 1931 Blackwood would receive a report from state Constable Charles Foster regarding the death of a prisoner on the Greenwood County chain-gang. The late prisoner's father had complained that cruel treatment of his son led to his death. Constable Foster's investigation, evocative of the South's past, found the prisoner died from heat exposure without evidence of wrongdoing in his treatment. Reporting an investigation on the conduct of officials at a chain-gang camp to the governor seemed to foretell a need for an agency to handle such investigations. In the agency's future, the investigation of a person's death while in custody became an important recurring responsibility.³⁹

Spartanburg authorities in June 1932 asked Gov. Blackwood for state constables to assist with policing a strike at Arcadia Mills. The governor's office replied a "sufficient" number of constables would be sent and that Highway Patrol officers would also be requested, if needed. The comment underscored the governor's lack of direct control over the Highway Patrol. The governor's office spokesperson's statement also included an assurance that, "The constables will look after the interests of both parties in the controversy."⁴⁰ Whether the impartiality reflected in this comment would hold in this and the future deployments would remain an open question.

Notwithstanding calling on officers to investigate possible prisoner abuse and maintain order during a strike, Blackwood seemed to conclude the constabulary unnecessary. *The Gaffney Ledger*, in 1933, reported two years later that Gov. Blackwood "disbanded" the state Constabulary. There were 11 members of the state Constabulary before this action. Three constables were retained to conduct special criminal investigations: C. Lee Melton of Cheraw, J. W. Richardson of Columbia, and Fred Newman of Spartanburg. They were authorized to complete work on murder and arson cases.

The Governors' Officers, South Carolina's First Organized Police

The Senate Finance Committee cited a lack of state funds due to a shortage of state revenue as the reason, stating that the activities of the state Constabulary had been suspended previously for the same reason.⁴¹ Suspended was more accurate and, as noted, had previously happened. But even the Great Depression of the 1930s did not eliminate the constabulary.

In 1930, the state required a driver's license to operate vehicles on highways and established the Highway Patrol to enforce the new requirement. As a component of the Highway Commission, where law enforcement was incidental to the primary purpose of the parent organization, the Patrol primarily performed duties connected with the operation of motor vehicles. This left the state possibly resorting more often to the use of National Guard troops as police agencies confronted the emerging labor protests during the period. However, most sheriffs had few deputies to police strikes and began to call on the Patrol for help.

Poor employment conditions and rebukes by management to organizing efforts saw growing unrest among textile workers. Possibly related to limited state funds or simply a desire by management to have greater direct influence over officers, efforts in the 1930s to suppress labor unions resulted in requests for the appointment of non-compensated constables rather than paid officers for use in what became volatile labor conditions.

These conditions might have been part of the reason some local police chiefs wanted a state-wide police system. Local departments often lacked sufficient personnel to work labor disputes. Spartanburg Police Chief Geddes West recommended a system somewhat oddly modeled on one in a northern state, the Massachusetts State Police. He and other chiefs also thought a state police system should include, "A police broadcasting station with which cities and towns could effect (sic) a liaison."⁴²

In the Piedmont region with its concentration of textile mills, some of the constables, who were not compensated by the state, requested the appointment to earn salaries from the textile companies. Some mills were in isolated areas or had no other on-site law enforcement in the surrounding communities, even if near towns. Local law enforcement was limited and textile mills typically existed as quasi-independent villages. With these conditions, labor unrest was not the only reason for requesting constables. Among the reasons given as justification for the appointment of constables was that the employees were paid in cash unless in mill company script, creating a risk of robbery, and often the constables were needed to help keep the peace and security of the village.

Nonetheless, in his highly regarded work, *South Carolina, A History*, Walter Edgar noted that labor organizing efforts at textile mills across the country resulted in a majority of the textile workers in the state participating in the General Textile Strike that began on September 3, 1934. "Governor Blackwood called out the National Guard, and they patrolled the streets of most mill villages except those in Columbia. However, the strike was so widespread that the governor had to resort to commissioning 'non-compensated constables' to reply to demand for assistance from sheriffs and mill owners."⁴³ On September 6, 1934, a confrontation occurred between strikers and those attempting to stop the strike at the Chiquola Mill in Honea Path. The result was a discharge of firearms, killing six strikers. The funeral drew many mourners, and the state eventually adopted a more deliberative policy in labor issues. Labor disputes remained tense at times, but none produced such tragic results.⁴⁴



Headlines of the *Greenville News* declare textile mill workers slain

An example of the involvement of state constables during the labor trouble of this period might be found in a Union County incident that occurred during a textile workers strike. On June 19, 1935, W.B. Franklin, a magistrate's constable and former textile worker at Monarch Mills, shot and killed A. L. Stutts, an overseer at Monarch Mills. State constable George Royster shot Franklin. The trial was delayed following a motion in Circuit Court by Solicitor Sam Watt to refer to the Supreme Court the question of whether textile workers could serve as jurors in the case.⁴⁵

If there was a question of possible bias against textile workers in some matters, they saw an upstate politician as on their side –Olin D. Johnston. In his 1935 inaugural address as governor, Olin D. Johnston (1935–1939) called for the highway commissioners to resign so that he could name new commissioners. The commissioners refused to give up their positions, and Johnston seized control of the Highway Department with National Guard troops. *The New York Times*, in 1935, reported, "The Executive sent sixty-one National Guardsmen with four machine guns to enforce his order displacing the antagonistic Highway Board."⁴⁶ The disagreement between Johnston and the commissioners

possibly contributed later to the expansion of responsibilities favoring the state Constabulary at the expense of the Highway Patrol, which the governor did not control.

Labor issues and conflict with the Highway Commission were prominent political matters, but alcohol, as always, was still an important topic. Legal reform for state alcohol policy was adopted. With the passage of Act 232, *South Carolina Statutes at Large*, 1935, in May, the legislation provided a comprehensive alcohol policy and refocused law enforcement priorities of the state from labor to fermented and distilled beverages. Enforcement of gambling laws also was a priority, and concern for these two vices would occupy law enforcement for years to come.

The Gaffney Ledger, in 1941, mentioned in a story that J. Henry Jeanes, a former game warden for Anderson County and police chief of Pelzer, was appointed as the chief of the state Constabulary by Gov. Johnston in June 1935. Jeanes served the entire term and was reappointed by Gov. Burnet Maybank (1939-1941), but died during Maybank's term.⁴⁷ Possibly, Jeanes would have been just as happy to miss some of what was ahead for the reputation of the constabulary.

First Efforts to Reform

For an imprecise period of roughly a decade, there almost seemed an obsession with the idea of corruption within institutions of state government. The extent is uncertain to which the obsession was fact. The constabulary was not exempt from this concern, and it contributed to the widely held opinion that the constabulary needed reform. Little substantive change resulted.

In March 1936, Representative R. D. McDonald of Oconee pushed the House of Representatives to obtain a resolution authorizing the investigation of the state Constabulary for "irregularities." McDonald had died before his bill was acted upon, but Representative C. C. Whitmire, also of Oconee, took it up. The allegations were said to come from a cousin of Gov. Johnston, who was a member of the state Constabulary.

The *Florence Morning News*, in 1936, reported a push to investigate the state Constabulary because liquor dealers were allegedly being defrauded. In March of that year, the Senate quashed a resolution to investigate the state Constabulary.⁴⁸

Unfortunately, alleged corruption among officers led the Greenville County Grand Jury in March 1937 to recommend a legislative investigation of law enforcement in South Carolina. The General Assembly called the recommendation a "serious indictment" and Act 662, *South Carolina Statutes at Large*, 1937, authorized the investigation. Little more than a voluminous report came of the allegations. However, it was not for lack of effort. Greenville's Grand Jury did more than exercise the authority extant at the time to oversee governmental affairs but actually attempted to bring charges. According to a report in *The Gaffney Ledger*, in 1937, the Greenville Grand Jury said,

We present to the court for indictment
the following persons: Lewis G. Prince, member

of the Greenville County legislative delegation, for unlawful conspiracy to provide protection for illegal gambling devices, for bribery and obstructing justice...C. M. Whisnant, for accepting bribes while a state constable of South Carolina.⁴⁹

The focus of public attention temporarily shifted away from corruption with a public safety emergency. On December 12, 1937, Lt. Joel Townsend of the Highway Patrol joined Chief J. H. Jeanes of the state Constabulary and other constables and officers at the scene of a riot and escape attempt at the state penitentiary. Six white inmates participated in the uprising that had resulted in the killing of Captain Olin Sanders of the prison guards. The six prisoners were charged, convicted, and executed for their participation. Gov. Johnston went to the scene and personally appealed to the hostage takers to return peacefully to their cells with guarantees that they would not be harmed if they did so; but Johnston's entreaty was rebuked with the ringleader replying, "God damn you, who are you to make promises?"⁵⁰

Notwithstanding the collaboration of the sheriff, police chief, adjutant general, governor, highway patrolmen, and constables, efforts for a peaceful surrender proved unsuccessful. Within three hours, constables lobbed "smoke bombs, vomiting gas, and tear gas" through the window bars into the area controlled by the inmates and brought the incident to a rapid conclusion.⁵¹

The late Circuit Solicitor John Justice of Chester, South Carolina, was assigned by former State Attorney General Travis Medlock^{VIII} to prosecute a case in 1985 in which ballots were altered after an Anderson County election. In his closing argument to the jury, Justice told of election impropriety in the September 1938 runoff in the Democratic primary for governor between Burnette Maybank and Wyndham Manning. Gov. Olin Johnston ordered the National Guard to seize the ballots cast in Charleston County until the state Democratic Party Executive Committee certified the results.⁵² Solicitor Justice asserted there were no SLED agents to investigate at that time and won the criminal trial. But the solicitor's history was only partially correct.

True, there were no SLED agents, but there were constables. Those officers likely lacked the resources to seize ballot boxes from across the large coastal county, one geographically divided by both fresh and salt waters limiting convenient highway connections. Whether these conditions influenced Johnston's opinion of what resources and capacity might be needed by the constabulary in the future is uncertain. Irrespective, Johnston demonstrated more than once he would not shrink from using the National Guard in unusual circumstances.

Possibly, Chief Jeanes hoped the efficient handling of the prison rebellion would improve the low opinion held by some legislators of the constabulary. However, ending the prison crisis failed to resolve the allegations made against the state Constabulary, and in February 1939, state lawmakers spoke of possibly creating a new "state police system."

^{VIII} Medlock served as the Attorney General of South Carolina between 1983 and 1995. He is regarded by many as the father of the State Grand Jury. As the Attorney General, Medlock was involved with many issues important to SLED. Two issues involve topics discussed later: Medlock challenging video poker and issuing the opinion that there was no authority to fly the Confederate flag on top of the State House.

The Governors' Officers, South Carolina's First Organized Police

Members of the House of Representatives sponsored a resolution suggesting a joint committee of three representatives and three senators to consult with Gov. Burnett R. Maybank on such a proposal. The House voted in favor of the resolution, but the Senate referred the matter to the Judiciary Committee. *The Gaffney Ledger*, in 1939, reported that Senator James "Spot" Mozingo of Darlington had already sponsored a bill to establish a state police force. Mozingo was a colorful member of the Senate whose son Billy was later a SLED agent.⁵³

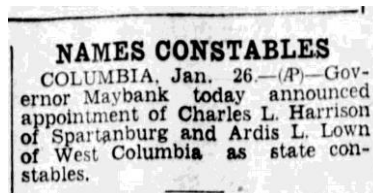
In his inaugural address to the General Assembly in January 1939, Maybank proposed a state police system.

During the campaign for the governorship I repeatedly stated my position on law and order. I again emphasize my statement, "There will be no bargain days for pardons and no holidays for criminals." I recommend to the Legislature an amendment to the Constitution of the State abolishing the unlimited pardon power now vested in the governor and setting up a new method of pardon procedure, which will limit the governor's authority in the field of pardons and paroles. I also recommend to the General Assembly for its consideration the establishment of a State police system, based on the merit system. If the Legislature agrees with me and enacts the necessary legislation then it is my intention to ask our fellow South Carolinian, Melvin Purvis, with whom I have already consulted, to assist us in setting up such a State police system, and perhaps heading it himself, under a plan similar to the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Mr. Purvis' reputation with the federal bureau, particularly in the Dillinger case, is a guarantee of what could be accomplished if our plans can be carried out.

The Constitution of South Carolina vests in the governor the responsibility for the enforcement of law yet under our present system he is not provided with adequate law enforcement machinery necessary to carry out this constitutional mandate. The first step to assure the observance of law in South Carolina should be the establishment of a State police system on a merit basis independent of politics.

With our law enforcement agencies coordinated under a State police system we will then be equipped to deal with criminals and law breakers of all kinds.⁵⁴

Even though there was talk of changing the law enforcement organization of the state, appointment as a state constable was typically disclosed in the newspapers of the day. Many people thought such appointment reflected well on the character of the person named in the announcement and that it was the public's right and responsibility to be informed. Unlike the example below, depending on the space allocated, some announcements of this sort were very detailed as to the background of new constables.⁵⁵



Whether the result of a changed news business, growth in population, or discontinued by the governor, the practice of publicly announcing the appointments was later abandoned. Announcements of this sort might add to a sense of community where citizens know those who hold public office. However, there is another aspect to the practice –it is political.

When an elected official makes a hiring decision it may be seen as a political decision, one intended to win favor for the official. On the other hand, the public generally accepts the practice of allowing some elected officials to routinely make hiring decisions. Sheriffs are elected, and they decide both who will be hired and who will be fired.

New Organizational Structure Proposed

Interest in change in state law enforcement was growing. In a move similar to Mazingo's initiative in the Senate, an effort was undertaken in the House. Rep. Thomas Pope of Newberry was among the authors of a bill that called for a state *police system* wherein the governor's constabulary and the highway patrol would be combined. The *Greenwood Index-Journal*, in 1939, reported, "The police system would consist of two bureaus, one for identification and criminal statistics and one for patrolling the highway." ⁵⁶ A commission consisting of the governor, the attorney general, and the adjutant general would govern the department, and the creation of a radio system was also provided for in the bill.

In a long speech before the House on March 16, 1939, Pope said, "The 'sole issue' is whether the highway patrol would remain under the highway department or the governor and officers charged under the constitution with law enforcement." ⁵⁷ While some offered the belief that the job of the highway department was building and maintaining roads and not law enforcement, it was not the majority opinion. The bill failed on a vote of 78 to 38.

As debate regarding the structure of state law enforcement subsided somewhat following the vote, the opinion remained that a police agency with high standards was needed. Professional peace keeping likely would have been a concern given that poor race relation conditions manifested in violence at times.

Criminal defense attorney David Bruck wrote an article about the four men Strom Thurmond sentenced to death while a circuit judge. At least one was convicted following a near lynching in Georgetown requiring state intervention.

In December 1940, the rape of a young white woman at her home in Georgetown County allegedly by a black man named George Thomas set off vigilante mob activity. Following the arrest of Thomas, white men, armed with rifles and shotguns, demanded the sheriff turn over Thomas. He refused initially but the mob grew to an estimated 300 men and the sheriff was forced at gunpoint to hand over a black prisoner. Thomas was not handed over, apparently in an effort to confuse and delay the mob.

The prisoner given to the mob was taken to the victim's home for her to identify as her rapist. She did not identify the prisoner, who must have been anticipating his demise. The victim was taken to the jail and ten more prisoners were presented to her one by one for identification. Thomas was one of the ten but the victim couldn't identify any of them.

National Guardsmen had been called and were deployed around the jail. They set up a machine gun on a second-story balcony at the jail. This activity gave the sheriff the time to allow the rape victim to see Thomas away from the mob. She identified him as her rapist, after which he was removed from the jail and taken to the penitentiary in Columbia. The officers transporting the prisoner had to escape a carload of pursuers at one point during the transfer.

Vigilantes continued to intimidate the black community for several days and the governor kept National Guardsmen in Georgetown until he felt order sufficiently restored. Even so, tensions remained high and the governor sent "several state police officers to help keep order." Although not identified, the officers likely were state constables. Thomas was executed in spite of weaknesses in the case pointed out by Bruck.⁵⁸ It is the vigilante action requiring assistance from

the constables that gives reason to include the account of Thomas. This was a transitional time period for the world, yet the constabulary was dealing with old hatreds.

The Governor's Officers

According to *The Gaffney Ledger*, near the end of his term (1939–1941), Gov. Burnet R. Maybank (1939–1941), a former Charleston mayor, decided to change the name of the governor's law enforcement arm from *Constabulary* to *Governor's Officers*.⁵⁹ While it was an unusual name for a governmental entity that sounds more like a certain class of officer than an organizational component, it had a practical aspect to it and reflected a desire by Maybank to put his imprimatur on state law enforcement.

Contemporary commercial concepts might call it branding. However, during Maybank's term, the name *South Carolina Law Enforcement Division* also appeared on the agency letterhead, indicating the possible first use of a name other than state *Constabulary*. Possibly, the news reports were incomplete and should have named it South Carolina Law Enforcement Division instead of state Constabulary, along with referring to the officers as *governor's officers* rather than constables. It is uncertain how to correctly identify the organization by name, at this time.

Irrespective of what was intended, *governor's officers* stuck to some degree for several years while the name *South Carolina Law Enforcement Division* became permanent. Non-compensated constable badges included the words *governor's officer* in the 1970s.

Maybank's service as governor ended with his resignation before he completed his term, but throughout his time in office working liquor stills remained a dangerous business for lawmen. In August 1941, State Constable W.A. Clamp, a former sheriff of Anderson County and another constable were ambushed after "cutting" a still in Pickens

County. Unhurt, their automobile was nonetheless riddled with pellets from shotgun blasts.⁶⁰

Later that month, Maybank paid tribute to the chief of the Governor's Constables on his passing. The governor described the death of J.H. Jeans as, "A distinct loss to South Carolina." Maybank mentioned a recently received report from Jeans as evidence of the productivity of the members of the Governor's Constables, numbered at 25. He cited 5,313 stills, 409 punchboards, 1,279 slot machines as having been destroyed, along with 7,995 arrests made. The period of time this report covered was not given.⁶¹

State officers were actively sought by the Army to increase civilian police numbers in the First Army "maneuver area". The world was engaged in its second great war when Gov. Maybank in September 1941 ordered his governor's officers to assist sheriffs in the maneuver area. Maybank also commissioned 80 state highway patrol officers as constables to facilitate assistance to local law enforcement in general law enforcement activities during this time. The attack on Pearl Harbor followed in December.⁶²

Shortly after Jeane's death, Maybank made Lt. G.R. Richardson of Greenville chief.⁶³ It was to be the first of two appointments as chief. Between Maybank and Johnston's second term, two men served as governor without election. Lt. Gov. Joseph Harley briefly served as governor by filling the unexpired term of Maybank, who resigned after winning election to the U.S. Senate seat that had been held by James F. Byrnes.^{IX} (Byrnes had been appointed as an associate justice of the U. S. Supreme Court.) Harley was governor from November 4, 1941 to February 27, 1942 and died in office. Former state Senator Richard Jefferies, the president pro tempore of the state Senate succeeded Harley to also become an unelected governor from February 27, 1942 to January 19, 1943.⁶⁴

^{IX} After Byrnes became an associate justice and before Manning won election to the U.S. Senate, Manning appointed Roger Peace, publisher of the *Greenville News*, as senator.

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Gov. Harley chose someone as chief with a different type of background from what had been the norm. Perhaps less roughhewn than some of his predecessors, S. J. Pratt nevertheless acquired a reputation as "firm, fearless, and tenacious". Pratt worked 12 years as a teacher and football coach before joining the Tax Commission, an agency with necessary close ties to the constabulary. He had been a football star at Erskine College, and being a college graduate likely set him apart from most officers of the time.⁶⁵ Pratt's time as chief was short but he received compliments in the courts and press for doing an outstanding job.

Pratt was originally appointed to the constabulary by Gov. Maybank. Chief Jeanes assigned more investigative work to Pratt and when Jeanes died, Chief G.R. Richardson, who, as Pratt, only briefly served as chief, assigned Pratt as a special investigator. Pratt was reassigned from his post of duty in Kingstree to Columbia. When Richardson was made superintendent of the state penitentiary, it offered an opportunity for someone to be elevated on October 6, 1941 to the constabulary's top position --Pratt.⁶⁶

In his inaugural address for a second term, Gov. Olin D. Johnston (1943-1945) followed the path of others before him and called for a state police system to be established. Local police chiefs, Rep. Thomas Pope, and Gov. Burnett Maybank had proposed the same before Gov. Johnston. What Johnston possibly did not know was his address would not be the last time such a proposal would be made.

It is my opinion that South Carolina has an opportunity at the present time to create a centralized State police system, to supplant its many law enforcement agencies that have no coordinating scheme or central supervision. I urge this Legislature to create a unified police system, one that will combine the highway patrol with the Governor's constabulary thereby saving thousands of dollars annually for the State. Through a unified police system, we

could bring into being a State police radio broadcasting station, a centralized agency that would keep complete records of convictions, fingerprint records of all convicted persons, and other similar information deemed very necessary to cope with the increased criminal warfare.⁶⁷

During a second term,^x Gov. Johnston appointed Constable Lieutenant Roy Ashley of Honea Path in January 1943 to succeed Pratt as chief of the state Constabulary. *The Gaffney Ledger*, in 1943, reported that Pratt was retained on the force.⁶⁸ This practice was seen more than once, both at the chief's level and at subordinate supervisory positions with personnel rotated from one job to another and back again. The *Florence Morning News*, in 1945, reported that Ashley would later be transferred from the constabulary chief's post by future Gov. Ransome Williams to serve as captain of the state prison guard with plans for him to become the prison superintendent. Lieutenant G. R. Richardson of the state Constabulary, a former prison superintendent, was slated to become chief.⁶⁹

Through the years, regardless of the priority of the state Constabulary being alcohol, other more serious crimes were addressed. In 1943, state Constable Will Thompson and Aiken County Sheriff J. P. Howard were seriously wounded in an exchange of gunfire with Jimmy Quimby. The suspect, according to *The Aiken Standard*, in 1943, was killed in his barricaded home in Graniteville after shooting his wife and chasing away local officers who responded. State constables used teargas to drive Quimby from his house, where he had resisted while armed with a pistol and a saber. Use of tear gas by state constables suggests they provided the local sheriff with a tool the local department lacked. The past and current state policy provides such support as an appropriate role of state law enforcement.⁷⁰

^x Johnston's two terms were non-consecutive. Two consecutive terms were not permitted until Richard Riley served as governor (1979–1987).

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In 1945, Gov. Ransome Williams (1945–1947) saw frequent newspaper accounts of raids on liquor stills and speakeasies by the state Constabulary. He reappointed Roy Ashley, who served under Johnston as chief of the state Constabulary. It is unclear whether Ashley ever served as prison superintendent as predicted, but he was later appointed United States Marshal for the Western District of South Carolina. Williams soon began cultivating a reputation as a rackets-battling governor. Newspapers such as the *Florence Morning News*, in 1945, ran editorials congratulating Williams for ordering the enforcement of "all laws against the illegal sale of liquor, gambling, slot machines and vice..." Williams, a pharmacist and former mayor of Mullins, liked law enforcement. He almost certainly saw lawmen as allies in fighting corruption, which he believed was widespread, including in legislative circles.⁷¹

BY DIRECT WIRE FROM		1223	SYMBOLS		
CLASS OF SERVICE This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.	WESTERN UNION	A. N. WILLIAMS PRESIDENT	NEWCOMB CARLTON CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD	J. C. WILLEVER FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT	DL = Day Letter
					NT = Overnight Telegram
					LC = Deferred Cable
					NLT = Cable Night Letter
					Ship Radiogram

The filing time shown in the date line on telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

GV1 COLUMBIA SOCAR 7 SEPTEMBER MR JAMES W. THORNTON
C B AND O RAILWAY AURORA ILLINOIS=

APPROXIMATELY FIVE HUNDRED DOLLARS OFFERED FOR PRISONER
POOLE WANTED MURDER AND UNLAWFUL FLIGHT IN SOUTH CAROLINA.

ARREST AND HODL POOLE. NOTIFY IMMEDIATELY CHIEF OF
CONSTABULARY G.R. RICHARDSON ROOM 119 CALHOUN OFFICE BLDG

3. COLUMBIA S C. RANSOME J WILLIAMS GOVERNOR.

Before the National Crime Information Center (NCIC) wanted person information was often disseminated via telegrams.

Williams vowed to "clean up the state" and, perhaps hoping to influence that effort, was personally involved with constabulary matters. He wrote commendations to the constabulary chief and sent wanted person telegrams to out-of-state authorities. However, Williams became concerned that the state Constabulary priorities did not meet all law enforcement needs. Criticism of the state Constabulary included more than analyzing whether the organization was sufficiently capable. Frequently, remarks suggested that the state Constabulary was too political.

In June 1945, Representative James Reid of Greenville wrote to Gov. Williams, requesting two state Constabulary cars for travelling to Washington, D.C., for members of a legislative committee.⁷² By current standards, this would almost certainly be seen as abusive. The criticism would be that the legislature was exploiting an agency to obtain free use of state police cars and special treatment. This was a distinct possibility. However, the request was made at the end of World War II. The availability of automobiles, including state cars, was limited. As a small, poor state at the time, resources had to be shared and merely might represent a practical solution to the shortage of cars.

Combined Constabulary and Highway Patrol Proposed

In his 1946 State of the State address, Gov. Williams recommended combining the state Constabulary and the highway patrol into one agency with merit-based hiring and promotion. This would have been a reform perfectly fitting the parameters of what a state police agency is generally understood to be. Instead, the House of Representatives struck the entire funding for the state Constabulary consisting of a \$203,000 appropriation for the governor's office. This development was eventually reversed. However, as reported in *The Gaffney Ledger*, in 1946, it led Gov. Williams to declare, "The underworld has taken over in South Carolina."⁷³ Williams appointed G. R. Richardson as chief of

the state Constabulary to serve during the latter part of his term.

Soon, two successive influential governors, Strom Thurmond and Jimmy Byrnes, changed the culture of law enforcement in South Carolina and provided the impetus for the reforms necessary to transition the state Constabulary into a modern police force. While these two men were connected in giving a tremendous boost to the reforms required for a lasting state police force, they also were connected in time by a shared advocacy of segregation and the important roles held in their public life.

A Surge in Purpose and Reform

Thurmond was the first of the two men to demonstrate their intentions to have a more effective law enforcement agency at the governor's disposal. While undoubtedly aware of the pre-existing interest in changes to the law enforcement component under his control, Thurmond also wanted a properly organized and functioning state government providing needed services. Notwithstanding the relatively progressive nature of Strom Thurmond's administration as governor and the decidedly progressive policies dealing with the law enforcement division of the Governor's Office, there was an uncanny nexus between Thurmond and Tillman families.

Strom Thurmond, his father J. William Thurmond, Benjamin Tillman and James Tillman were all from Edgefield. Strom Thurmond's father, a solicitor, served as the chief prosecutor in the trial of James Tillman for the murder of Narcisco Gonzales, editor of *The State*. James F. Byrnes, as a young court stenographer, later to become governor, transcribed the testimony given in the trial under contract to *The State*. J. William Thurmond, who was prosecuted and acquitted for killing a man, had been represented in his trial by James Tillman. The aforementioned intertwined relationships being evidence, South Carolina is a small state

where native South Carolinians know to be careful when speaking of others because in so many instances, people are related or know someone who is related to the subject of one's remarks.

Whether this event had any influence in shaping the opinion by Thurmond and Byrnes about the state Constabulary is unknown, perhaps even unlikely, as the state Constabulary was not involved in the arrest or prosecution of Tillman. However, the trial was the most sensational one seen by any of these men. The event could not help but become permanently seared into their memories and the family legacies of everyone involved, and it involved the enforcement of state law – the business of the state Constabulary.

After World War II, a surge in mobility began. Use of the automobile had been limited by the war and was then beginning to again take people everywhere. It didn't happen all at once, but the improved mobility had a profound effect on the judiciary as well as law enforcement. The late Bruce Littlejohn, Chief Justice of the South Carolina Supreme Court, said, "When there is little activity, there is usually a minimum of court need. People litigate because they go places and do things and create problems."⁷⁴ Similarly, mobility facilitated changes in crime and crime detection.

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South Carolina Sheriffs met with Strom Thurmond at their annual meeting in 1946.

To meet growing challenges, some sheriffs promoted the idea of establishing a state bureau of investigation modeled on the FBI. Sheriffs gathered in Columbia at the Wade Hampton Hotel in 1946 and expressed their needs before gubernatorial candidate Strom Thurmond.

Having listened to their recommendations, Gov. J. Strom Thurmond (1947–1951), in his inaugural address, recommended the transfer of the identification section of the highway patrol to the governor's office and the establishment of a state bureau of investigation. The identification section or *bureau* performed most of the forensic investigation techniques available at the time in South Carolina but was limited by contemporary standards. At the core of the bureau's capabilities were fingerprints. Both latent prints recovered from crime scenes and rolled prints taken from suspects in custody or civil applicants were examined and compared to fingerprint records on file. This responsibility was an important link to the FBI and other law enforcement

agencies that needed to identify criminal suspects and applicants to government positions.

Not Precisely a State Bureau of Investigation

In January 1947, the governor called for a state bureau of investigation. In February, news reports implied that the General Assembly passed a law requiring the transfer of a bureau of identification from the South Carolina Highway Patrol to the South Carolina Law Enforcement Division. The late State Representative Sol Blatt said five employees would be transferred, and that the highway department, parent agency of the highway patrol, supported the action.

This created confusion in the intended reform. Joel D. Townsend, one of the transferred employees, was named the chief of the state Constabulary. In turn, Townsend was quoted in the *Index Journal*, in 1947, as having said, "I am a lieutenant of the highway patrol and chief of the constabulary."⁷⁵ Townsend implied he served in this dual capacity because the governor wanted it so. At the state highway patrol, Townsend supervised the identification bureau. However, he would not serve in two positions for long. In earlier remarks, Thurmond had declared he supported strict enforcement of the state constitutional ban on dual office holding.

A concurrent resolution authored by Blatt and dated March 26, 1947 authorizing the transfer passed. However, concurrent resolutions do not have the force of law. Nonetheless, the capabilities of the state Constabulary increased and improvements began in the public perception of the force. Opinion disfavored use of the term "constabulary" to describe a well-organized police agency consistent with modernity post-World War II. The abandonment of the words *constabulary* and *constable* signaled improvement in the professional standing of the organization.

First Test for Thurmond and His Officers

Soon after taking office as governor, Thurmond was confronted by a crime resurrecting a period all people of good did not wish to see. Thurmond, as governor, shared the concern.

Hostility had been fermenting among taxi drivers in Greenville following multiple robberies and beatings of white taxi drivers, allegedly by blacks. When Willie Earle, a 25-year-old black man, was arrested for fatally wounding a taxi driver in Greenville, police placed him in the Pickens County jail. A mob of white men went to Pickens and took Earle from the jail, severely beating and killing him on February 16, 1947.

The New York Times reported, "On the morning of Feb. 17 a mob of unmasked men, several said to be wearing taxi driver's caps, forced its way into the jail and took Earle to a nearby country road, where he was mutilated with a knife and three shotgun blasts were fired into his body."⁷⁶

Gov. Thurmond ordered Chief Joel Townsend of the Constabulary to investigate immediately. Townsend assigned a detail of four or five constables to the investigation. Some of the assigned constables lived in Greenville.^{XI}

FBI agents investigated along with officers assigned by Pickens County Sheriff Mauldin, Greenville County Sheriff R.H. Bearden, Greenville City Police Chief J. Harold Jennings, and state Constabulary Chief Joel Townsend. On-site constabulary officers included Capt. G. R. Richardson, Lt. V.L. Ashmore, Constables Vance Patterson and Bill Gaines. The Highway Patrol also assisted.

^{XI} In his book "Reforming the State Constabulary", the author opined the FBI might have responded to Greenville from its Savannah, GA office. However, this might have been incorrect as special agent in charge John C. Bills of the FBI's Charlotte, NC office commented about the case, saying, "The FBI investigation would be limited to determining whether the civil rights statutes had been violated." – *Greenville News*. February 18, 1947: p 1.

Authorities worked swiftly in their investigation. The wire service reports quoted Greenville Sheriff R. Homer Bearden attributing success in cracking the case to co-operation among FBI agents, county, city and state officers.⁷⁷ The work resulted in the identification of 31 members of the mob and charges were brought against all in state court. Of those arrested, 28 were taxi drivers. In a scene evocative of bizarre vigilante justice, the armed defendants presumably drove from Greenville in a convoy to take Earle from jail in nearby Pickens.

Newspaper reports suggested two of the defendants, who were not taxi drivers, were from prominent families in Greenville. One of the two non-taxi driver defendants was said to be the son of a local mill owner. The trial began on May 5, 1947 with racial tension high in the city.

The trial ended with an all-white jury finding the defendants not guilty. The presiding judge, J. Robert Martin, Jr., was so disgusted by the jury's decision he turned his back on the 12 jurors. It was a sad outcome for the state and an important learning experience for law enforcement agencies.

Adding to the stress of the high profile case was the fact that Thurmond's reorganization of the constabulary was still underway when the investigation began. Townsend had been appointed less than a month earlier, and during the reorganization, 15 constables were terminated. Also during this time, complaints were received of "wide-open" activities in the Columbia and Richland and Lexington Counties areas. What this consisted of is unclear. However, Townsend organized a continuous patrol of four constabulary cars each manned with two constables, a deputy sheriff, and a military policeman, and reported the patrols made numerous arrests for liquor violations, gambling, and prostitution. Notwithstanding the dramatic shift in focus, by newspaper accounts the constables appear to have contributed along

with the other investigating officers in the identification and apprehension of the suspects in Earle's lynching.⁷⁸

In the month following the lynching investigation, but prior to the trial, constables were still busy trying to put a stop to gambling. This purpose was only slightly more successful than trying to stop alcohol consumption. *The Gaffney Ledger*, in 1947, reported that lotteries, cockfights, slot machines, and pari-mutuel betting were among the targets identified by Chief Townsend.⁷⁹

Later, attention moved from the crime news reports and addressed Chief Townsend's salary. Thurmond justified a \$2,000 increase in the salary paid to Townsend over his predecessor by saying it saved money. Townsend's salary was \$6,000 annually, but the combined salaries would have been \$7,000, according to Thurmond, who was quoted in the *Index Journal*.⁸⁰

In late July 1947, the South Carolina Sheriffs' Association met in Myrtle Beach, South Carolina. At the annual meeting, Chief Townsend was quoted in the *Index Journal* saying he opposed "any state or national police organization." His comments suggest continuing interest from some in a larger, more comprehensive state police organization, possibly residual interest in the idea promoted by prior Gov. Williams for a "state police system."⁸¹

The reason for the opposition is unknown but was parochial. Sheriffs feared a diminished role or influence in the presence of a state police system. Just as the county-level officers feared the possibility of a lesser role if there was a strong, large state police system, state level officers feared a diminished role if there was a strong, large federal police. The Tenth Amendment to the United States Constitution was often cited in a parochial interpretation as reserving "police powers" to the states. For many years, references to federal law enforcement authorities avoided use of the word *police*.

Old Priorities Remain with Reformed Agency

With the transfer of the identification bureau and the appointment of a new chief and the investigation of the horrific murder of Willie Earle completed, the state Constabulary reverted to citing old priorities as high on its list of accomplishments over a 12-month period. Chief Townsend reported to Gov. Thurmond statistics reflecting activities of the state Constabulary for the fiscal year ending July 1, 1947. The state Constabulary destroyed 740 liquor stills along with 42,319 gallons of mash and 4,324 gallons of liquor. Automobiles and gambling devices were taken in great numbers. While arrests were also made for many other types of crimes, it appears that the focus at the time was toward offenses relevant to illegal alcohol production and distribution. The numbers suggest that the focus was warranted. Seizing 740 liquor stills in a single year indicated that this activity remained popular in 1947.⁸²

Nonetheless, two years later, newspapers were still editorializing for a state bureau of investigation. The *Gaffney Ledger*, in 1949, quoted the *Greenville News*, discussing the replacement of the state Constabulary with a state bureau of investigation:

What is proposed is, in essence, that we provide the state government with an efficient agency to assist in the solution of crimes and in detection of criminals through the use of the most modern methods and specially trained personnel. The state constabulary, as now constituted, seems to be in large measure a superfluous agency, and there is a real question whether its contribution to law enforcement in the state is worth its cost.⁸³

Thurmond persisted in his proposal for a state bureau of investigation. He argued strenuously for the idea, and the legislative opposition to his plan clearly was of concern. However, early in 1949, Chief Townsend seemed to decide

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he had enough. Over several months, a steady stream of letters and telegrams were received by Thurmond's office recommending, often strongly, one person or another for appointment as the new chief. There were two leading contenders, both of whom were members of the force: J. D. Watson and J. P. Strom of Columbia. Interestingly, two leading lawmen in the state wrote to Thurmond in letters dated February 21, 1949. Marion County Sheriff J. Leon Gasque wrote recommending J. P. Strom for the post of the chief, and Columbia Police Chief L. J. Campbell wrote to the governor expressing his congratulations for the selection of J. P. Strom as chief.

In October 1949, Strom was signing reports as a lieutenant and acting chief of the South Carolina Law Enforcement Division.^{xii} Thurmond offered the permanent post to Strom, but he declined due to being distantly related to the governor. By December 1949, O. L. Brady, a former chief of the Spartanburg County Rural Police, had apparently been given the permanent assignment and was signing reports as chief of the South Carolina Law Enforcement Division.

By the end of his term, Thurmond had five legislative proposals unable to garner sufficient support to pass. The establishment of a state bureau of investigation was one of the five. Put simply, it was not to be, and the notion of such an organization imperceptibly faded. In its place emerged the idea that the constabulary was gone and replaced by another newer, better organization.

^{xii} Personnel listed for the agency while J. P. Strom was acting chief included the following. Headquarters: J. P. Strom (Acting Chief,) J. D. Watson (Lieutenant,) T. H. Thorton (Desk Clerk). Identification Bureau: M. N. Cate (Sergeant), J. Frank Faulk (Photographer), Gladys M. Avin (Stenographer), Toccoa E. Blankenship (Secretary), Leland H Lowery (Clerk). Finance, Personnel, Property, and Reporting: Naomi E. Moore (Secretary), Gloria J. Price (Bookkeeper), Hazel F. Winn (Stenographer). District One: J. W. Richardson (Sergeant), Dan E. Beckman, James E. Gamble, W. L. Laval, W. C. Long, C. L. McKinnon, Ernest Patterson, B. R. Peake, D.A. Roberts, and E. M. Suber. District Two: V. L. Ashmore (Sergeant), C. E. Branyon, J. O. Denny, T. M. Langston, J. W. May, E.W. Murdock, J. V. Patterson, J. O. Putnam. District Three: Roy F. Williams (Sergeant), T. M. Floyd, C. L. Melton, J. H. Seals, W. W. Sellers. District Four: J. L. Dollard (Sergeant), H. M. Bell, O. L. Cope, L. W. Hiers, J. W. Sanders, H. A. Stack, A. J. Willis.

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In reality, it was the same entity with important reforms --a much-improved organization. It had investigative capabilities, particularly scientific, not previously possessed. The selection of officers or agents included tests^{XIII} administered in the statehouse. Thurmond sent all the men he could to the National Police Academy, the forerunner of the FBI National Academy. In this effort, Thurmond called upon United States Senator Burnet R. Maybank, Representative Joe Bryson, and Representative Mendel Rivers for assistance. Bryson thought he secured a commitment from the FBI to take ten more men for training if the state passed an act for a state bureau of investigation.

Perhaps the most important development was that Thurmond set a clear tone for impartial enforcement of the law. In 1950 Brady informed Thurmond that SLED officer (constable) T.M. Floyd of Loris was affiliated with the KKK and Thurmond immediately fired Floyd. The governor said any others so associated would be dismissed.⁸⁴ It is the only known incident of a SLED officer having any sympathy with the Klan. Even though the termination of Floyd was after Thurmond began his reforms, it may reflect the low opinion held by some of the constabulary and reinforce the need for reform to continue.

When Alex McCullough, the managing editor of the *Spartanburg Herald*, sent a telegram to Thurmond citing a raid by constables at the Elks Club in Spartanburg, asking if there was a policy of raiding social clubs, Thurmond replied that his instructions were to enforce the law without "favoritism or discrimination." Notwithstanding the nature of the raid at the Elks Club, the range of investigations was tremendously expanded. While there was not to be a state bureau of investigation, its place would eventually be taken by an organization more uniquely fitting to South Carolina.

^{XIII} The requirement of tests would be dropped at an unknown date by an unknown future governor's administration and therefore is not considered a lasting reform. However, employment tests were reinstated during the administration of Robert Stewart as chief.

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Gov. James F. Byrnes (1951–1955) assumed office in January. A committed segregationist, Byrnes warned in his inaugural address that neither help from the Ku Klux Klan, nor interference from the National Association for Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) was wanted. While his remarks about the NAACP were, no doubt, disappointing to many who supported integration, his remarks directed toward the Klan and their supporters indicated a commitment to the rule of law and revealed a new role for S.C. Law Enforcement Division. In his inaugural address Byrnes discussed these topics.

The people of South Carolina are a law abiding people. Criminal statistics show that in proportion to our population, we have fewer violators of the law than most states of the Union. However, we do have a few people who want to take the law into their own hands and regulate the morals and habits of others. If a man violates the law he should be arrested by local officers. If they fail to act and complaint is made to the State Law Enforcement Division, the offender will be arrested. If a man does not violate the law, no group of men has the right to assault him or to threaten and intimidate him. I recommend that the Legislature enact a law similar to the Alabama statute prohibiting persons over 16 years of age parading on the streets or highways while masked, and also to prohibit such persons entering upon the premises of a citizen to threaten or intimidate him. In this State there can be but one government, that must be a government of the people under law. There can be but one Governor, elected by the people, whose duty it is to see that the law is enforced. I am going to be that Governor. I do not need the assistance of the Ku Klux Klan nor do I want interference

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by the National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People.⁸⁵

Byrnes' reference might be among the earliest uses of the words "State Law Enforcement Division" rather than the more formal "South Carolina Law Enforcement Division" as the agency's name. This in turn led to the use of the acronym "SLED", which was used in press reports as early as 1950.

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The Emergence of "SLED"

Gov. Byrnes preferred a small elite organization. In early 1951, he ordered all the officers of the state police force to meet at the State Fairgrounds. A line of automobiles formed with equipment placed on the hoods. The men stood beside their vehicles while the governor walked the line telling each whether to stay or go. In the end, 18 officers remained. While Byrnes' action was harsh, it might have accomplished a secondary goal of discipline. There was little doubt that if you found yourself at odds with Byrnes, your employment as an officer was over. Employees in circumstances of this sort either resent their ⁸⁶employer or closely adhere to employment standards.^{XIV}

The Columbia Record, although supportive of Byrnes' changes, apparently was not informed of the governor's personal role in the reduction in force. The newspaper's editorial column said, "Byrnes ordered Chief O. L. Brady of the state law enforcement division to reduce its size and make it over into a smaller compact group of experts who could be of real assistance to the law enforcement officers of the cities and counties as needed. 'Appointments should be made of qualified officers without regard to political endorsements,' the governor directed."⁸⁷

On April 21, 1952, Gov. Byrnes wrote to Mr. J. U. Watts of Eutawville, South Carolina, to inform him of progress in the murder investigation of Watts' son, Darlington attorney James "Red" Watts. The murder occurred in Darlington County, and Byrnes informed the father that

^{XIV} In correspondence from Chief O. L. Brady to Gov. J. F. Byrnes dated Jan. 3, 1952 the personnel of the South Carolina Law Enforcement Division were listed. They included Sr. Steno-Clerk Gladys Avin; Sr. General Clerk Toccoa E. Blankenship; Jr. Steno-Clerk (Night) J. Leon Gasque, Jr.; Stenographer Margie M. Shealy; and Chief Oren L. Brady. Other members listed with the title "Senior Investigator" were Dan Beckman, Charles Kenneth Brown, Millard Cate, J. O. Denny, Lt. J. L. Dollard, Lt. Frank J. Faulk, Jr., Sgt. W. L. Laval, Jr., J. W. May, B. Seaborn Moss, C. L. McKinnon, Lt. J. V. Patterson, B. R. Peake, E. M. Suber, Lt. Roy F. Williams, and James K. Wilson. Asst. Chief J. P. Strom was listed with the title of "Principal Investigator." There are 18 officers listed, and they constitute the remaining officers after Gov. Byrnes dismissed others at the state fairgrounds.

Solicitor Sam Watt of Spartanburg, South Carolina had been assigned to the case by the state attorney general. Byrnes assigned Lieutenant (J. P.) Strom to meet with Solicitor Watt about the investigation.^{xv} Solicitor Watt was often appointed a special prosecutor out of his circuit in cases assessed significant. Such assignment was due to the seriousness or other disturbing aspect of the crime. But political connections might tip a decision of the governor to assign SLED to investigate. This likely was the reason for both SLED and Solicitor Watt working the Watts case.⁸⁸ Watts was a boxing star while a student at the University of South Carolina and a former law partner of the legendary state Senator Edgar A. Brown, a powerful politician.

Also, Byrnes stated he was authorizing a \$5,000 reward for evidence with which to obtain a conviction.^{xvi} The correspondence revealed how the governor was personally involved in directing law enforcement activities and implied to the reader that Lt. Strom was a respected investigator. Strom, the son of a McCormick County sheriff, was soon to lead the state Constabulary and later SLED as a successful chief.

Thomas Hamilton, imperial wizard of the Ku Klux Klan, might have been one of the people Byrnes had in mind when he stated the KKK wasn't needed to help run the state. On May 23, 1952 North Carolina State Bureau of Investigation (SBI) agents along with SLED Agents B.S. Moss and C. L. McKinnon arrested Hamilton in Leesville, S.C. in connection with the beating of Evergreen Flowers, a black woman, in Columbus County, N.C. Flowers was beaten by a group of 40 to 50 men for "excessive drinking."⁸⁹

In other matters, Greenville Police Chief Harold Jennings wrote on August 25, 1952, to Gov. Byrnes to commend state officers for assisting with a case backlog. "Within the past four weeks, clues have been traced down

^{xv} Solicitor Watt also assisted in the prosecution of the Willie Earle case in Greenville, South Carolina.

^{xvi} SLED would later establish and maintain a confidential fund to pay rewards, informants, and purchase evidence.

and evidence uncovered which have resulted in the arrest of a number of criminals which subsequently brought about the clearance of more than a hundred felony offenses pending in our files." ⁹⁰

In October 1953 SLED agents led by Assistant Chief J.P. Strom^{xvii} were conducting frequent raids in Aiken County. The raids centered on gambling, liquor violations, and prostitution. The vices were operated as part of a loose network of organized crime migrating from Phenix City, Alabama to Aiken for the purpose of exploiting construction workers at the Savannah River atomic energy site, euphemistically known as the "bomb plant", and soldiers from Fort Gordon near Augusta, Georgia.

Construction at the site lasted roughly from 1951 to 1956. For a time during these years, known criminals from Phenix City relocated to Aiken County much to the consternation of local residents and state officials. Gov. Byrnes assured local leaders SLED would deny the underworld elements a permanent presence in South Carolina. It was feared that if illegal activities were not checked it might lead to Aiken acquiring a reputation like the notorious Phenix City. Illegal activity in Phenix City, located near Fort Benning, was so bad that the Alabama governor used the National Guard to police the city. The city's legacy of crime was documented in the book *The Tragedy and the Triumph of Phenix City, Alabama* by Margaret Ann Barnes.

In scenes reminiscent of the federal agents confronting mobsters, Assistant Chief Strom led a party of five SLED agents armed with Thompson .45 caliber submachine guns on raids intended to discourage the criminal elements from their plans of turning Aiken into another Phenix City. Places like Buddy's Tavern and Club Royal, which was described as "plush", saw gambling equipment seized. One of the operators, Alex Price, was

^{xvii} Apparently, Strom held the rank of lieutenant while assistant chief and the two titles were used interchangeably. Later, the practice was expanded to combine military rank with civilian titles in several assignments. For example, a supervisory special agent would carry the rank of lieutenant.

quoted saying, "He couldn't operate without the gambling equipment," and Strom gladly verified his statement as true.⁹¹

The raids led to complaints against SLED by those setting up their "honky-tonks" and similar operations. "Rumors are circulating hereabouts now that one of the persons arrested in a raid over the weekend is circulating a complaint against [Assistant] Chief Strom. The rumors have it that this person is attempting to have Mr. Strom arrested for violation for a section of the state code."⁹² If the complaint was without merit in this instance, some nevertheless believe Strom likely took measures, at times, that stretched what was legally permitted and would later be regarded as unacceptable. But if such steps were taken, it was always in a just cause.

In a crime evocative of the time growing cotton and manufacturing textiles were major parts of the state's economy, two men stole four cotton bales from a warehouse in Newberry. Lt. J. P. Strom took the men into custody in Gaffney. In the South Carolina of the time, often blacktop rural roads ran beside fields where blankets of white cotton contrast the blue sky and clouds appear as ginned lint from extra-long staple.

A notable aspect of the news report on the incident that appeared in *The Gaffney Ledger*, in 1952, was that Strom was reported as working for the state Constabulary. The transition in agency name had not yet fully occurred in the eye of the public, although either name might be used at this time.⁹³

Under Byrnes, investigations were based on authorization by the governor or a request for assistance. Byrnes was interested in the qualifications of the people selected as officers to conduct investigations. In a list dated January 20, 1954, supplied to Byrnes, Chief Orin L. Brady reported 11 men as eligible to attend the FBI school, two as having completed the school, and four as ineligible based on

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age. Byrnes instructed Chief Brady to hire no officer who could not qualify to attend the "FBI training school."

Around this time, some people, including the officers, had started using the term *agent* instead of *constable* to describe the governors' officers, perhaps inspired by the description of the FBI's officers as *special agents*.



Early FBI firearms training included the use of the Thompson submachine gun, a weapon also favored by some early SLED agents.

Of the 17 men listed by Brady, only one, James Wilson, possessed a college degree. Before long, he would join three others that included J. P. Strom, who had completed FBI training. Later, while serving as chief, Strom would become president of the FBI National Academy Associates, a professional organization comprising FBI National Academy graduates.

Strom was proud of the FBI National Academy and of holding national office with its associates, and it gave him an opportunity to get to know J. Edgar Hoover, with whom he was often compared. The two, Strom and Hoover, had similar features, primarily a thick "bulldog" neck, making both look tenacious.

For most people at that time, completing high school was the termination of formal education, and Byrnes' rule did not have the effect of requiring a college degree, as none was required in order to attend the FBI school. It meant adopting age, experience, and good character requirements – all critical considerations for a professional organization. Byrnes once again established a standard most would regard as essential in employment qualifications.

The Investigative Arm of the State

By the mid to late 1950s, both the newspapers and the public had embraced the use of the acronym SLED for the State Law Enforcement Division. George Bell Timmerman (1955–1959) succeeded Byrnes as governor. Timmerman immediately appointed J. P. Strom as chief when O.L. Brady announced his retirement as effective July 1, 1956.⁹⁴ Strom initially focused on traditional crime and supporting local law enforcement agencies. Tracking fugitives with bloodhounds became, during this time, a popular and successful service offered by SLED. It was and remains dangerous work. Sgt. W. L. Laval Jr. suffered a heart attack while running behind the bloodhounds and died on the trail of someone suspected of shooting a local police chief.

However, conditions required SLED to redirect attention from traditional crimes and supporting local law enforcement to also include investigating Klan activity. The awful beating of Camden High School Band Director Guy Hutchins was one example. The 52-year-old white Hutchins was a respected member of the community and formerly directed the symphonies of both Spartanburg and Charlotte, N.C. Six men savagely beat him, prompting SLED investigation with J. P. Strom at the head. The six men wore hoods and tied Hutchins to a tree, then beat him for 20 to 30 minutes. They told Hutchins he was being punished for making a pro-integration speech, which Hutchins said was not true.⁹⁵

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1950s era officers stand with the late Chief J.P. Strom, center front row, with the barracks in background. Most of the men shown were part of the core agent force through the 1960s.

Upon investigation, all six were identified and charged. One of the six admitted his Klan membership. Timmerman joined Strom at press briefings on the case, and an account of the arrests found in *Frith v. Associated Press* is cited as an example of SLED police practices. Horace Frith was one of the defendants. Both Timmerman and future governor John West, a Camden newspaper owner at the time, were pleased with the work done by SLED in the case. The investigation gave Strom a chance to develop a friendship with John West, which would be of assistance later.

It wasn't always the victims who were prominent. After assistance was requested by the Laurens County sheriff, SLED participated along with sheriff's deputies in an investigation culminating on June 11, 1957. It saw charges brought against one of Laurens' most well-known family members. Thomas D. Jacobs, whose family helped found Clinton, Presbyterian College, and Thornwell Orphanage, was arrested along with two others for conspiracy to kidnap the four years old son of Clinton banker Robert M. Vance. Jacob's brother, William P. Jacobs, had served as president of

Presbyterian College. Vance was also connected to a prominent family as a nephew of textile mill owner, W.J. Bailey. The investigation was conducted over four months and required continuous surveillance. At a time departments were small and limited in staffing with officers well known in the community, the assistance of SLED was critical.⁹⁶

"In November of 1957, SLED Chief J. P. Strom wrote an article for the FBI Bulletin describing SLED's organization and crime-fighting techniques. Strom's article started off by saying that SLED was created in 1935." ⁹⁷ The basis for his conclusion is not entirely clear. It may be based on 1935 legislation or represent an early use of the name S.C. Law Enforcement Division rather than constabulary. Irrespective, Strom's observation introduced a third possible date for creation of the agency.

Ernest F. Hollings (1959–1963) became governor in 1959, and state agents turned to peacekeeping. The need soon became obvious. In 1960, blacks conducted a march over the threatened arrest of baseball great Jackie Robinson for entering a white waiting room at the Greenville airport. Demonstrators marched from Greenville to Columbia to protest segregation. Despite these efforts, in 1962, the House of Representatives voted to have the Confederate flag flown over the Statehouse.

Square in the middle of these turbulent times emerged debate on the role of politics in SLED. *The Columbia Record*, in a 1963 editorial column, addressed the subject:

Unless and until political influence is removed from SLED, the agency will not be able to deliver maximum desirable service to South Carolina – its local law enforcement divisions and people. From the old Governor's Constabulary, the organization has grown into a central clearinghouse for criminal research and activities in the state. A tremendous boost to SLED's usefulness and purpose was given by

James F. Byrnes during his tenure as governor when he transformed the unit from a collection of little more than extra "county deputies." Two things are necessary: (1) Immediate promulgation of a merit system, fully protecting SLED agents against political dismissals: (2) forbiddance of political activities by any member of the division. One without the other would be ineffective. On the national level, the Federal Bureau of Investigation – once a political organization – has been lifted beyond politics and has earned the respect of the American people. No one in his right mind suggests today that the FBI ever be returned to partisan politics. South Carolina should take politics out of SLED, and SLED out of politics.⁹⁸

The timing of the editorial was not right to influence reform. The United States' involvement escalated in Vietnam, civil disobedience was on the rise, and the attention of the nation was on protest and civil disturbance. As the organization responded with a law enforcement role in the social upheaval of the times, a better public impression of SLED began to emerge. Reform would wait.

What caused the shift in opinion is not certain. One possibility is the state's need for a force to take on the responsibilities of the day, such as policing the changes taking place in society and simply supporting the agency in its efforts. Possibly, under Chief Strom, SLED officers looked more like the public image of federal agents, a positive brand in current terms. Some citizens could have inferred SLED was South Carolina's FBI. Both conditions contributed to what began to be called the *SLED mystique*. The term was cited often among the people running a big part of the local government – the courthouse crowd.

When SLED agents came into a town, the news spread through the lawyers, deputies, judges, clerks, secretaries, and a multitude of others who provide government services.

People asked, "Did you know SLED agents are poking around? What are they doing, what's going on?" There was a mystery unfolding in the presence of the courthouse crowd and they were intrigued by having agents in town acting secretly. Some saw the SLED investigators as secret agents in town for a big case. One event lending itself to such thinking took place in Calhoun County in August 1961.

The Guns of Fort Motte

Some believe the case involved international intrigue and knew it as "the guns of Fort Motte." Constructed as a plantation, the site of Fort Motte was strategic during the Revolutionary War. It was used as a temporary military outpost and a depot for British convoys between Camden and Charleston. Roughly 90–95 miles from Charleston, the unincorporated area is near the Congaree River which retains its identity before blending meandering liquids with the Wateree River and soon is subsumed by the Santee River.

Here on August 23, in the second year of Fritz Hollings' term as governor, a man was arrested with a cache of more than 100 light and heavy machine guns and ammunition in unmarked crates. Most of the weapons were ANM2 .50 and .30 caliber aircraft machine guns. All were found in a field adjacent to an unmanned airstrip used mostly by locally-based agricultural planes. J.P. Strom personally investigated. The working theory in the investigation was the guns were part of a secret, perhaps extralegal, Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) operation. Agents speculated the guns were connected with either the recent regime change in Cuba or a plan for another episode of change on the island.

In 1961, Chief Strom arrested Frank E. Warren, a 48-year-old resident of Calhoun County for violating state laws that prohibited the storage and possession of unlawful

firearms.⁹⁹ Warren was convicted, but he never revealed the purpose of the guns.

Civil Unrest and Peacekeeping

Gov. Hollings took note of Strom's work which lent itself to the governor relying on SLED as South Carolina struggled with a turbulent time during integration and the civil rights movement. Other states experienced violent clashes over integration. Under instructions from Gov. Hollings, Chief Strom would seek to understand mistakes made in other states and make use of the lessons learned. In South Carolina, one concern was the Ku Klux Klan. Hollings told Strom, "The Klan must go." Like Hollywood portrayals of FBI agents copying license plate numbers at Mafia conclaves, state agents checked vehicle registrations to learn who attended Klan rallies. Agents talked to sources, conducted surveillance of secret Klan meetings, and learned Klan plans. The work paid off, and the Klan began a long decline in size and influence.



Gov. Ernest F. "Fritz" Hollings

Hollings was committed to obedience to and enforcement of the law. He instructed Strom to ensure the safety of Harvey Gantt as he began a long matriculation at Clemson University controlled by corresponding litigation. Reasonable people wanted opposition to the integration of Clemson to remain in the courts – not the streets. SLED

identified the KKK as a threat and infiltrated the group with informants. Even though major disturbances were avoided to that point, riots across the nation worried South Carolinians and their elected leaders.

On September 10, 1962, a federal court ordered the University of Mississippi to accept James Meredith, a twenty-eight-year-old Air Force veteran, as the school's first black student. Governor Ross Barnett vowed he would never allow the school to be integrated and personally blocked Meredith's enrollment. He was supported by hundreds of state policemen, sheriffs, residents and students.

To protect Meredith, U.S. Attorney General Robert Kennedy sent 123 deputy federal marshals, 316 U.S. border guards and 97 federal prison guards. They were attacked with guns, bricks and bottles. As violence escalated in late September, President John F. Kennedy sent more than 16,000 federal troops. Two people were killed, twenty-eight marshals were shot and 160 people were injured. Meredith finally enrolled on October 1, 1962. Federal troops remained on campus to protect him until he graduated in 1963.¹⁰⁰

The following month, Hollings sent Strom to Oxford, Mississippi to learn how to avoid the violence that state experienced. With the events in Mississippi fresh, Strom developed a plan to both prevent and handle, if necessary, any trouble at Clemson.

Hollings recognized the segregation of public schools was illegal. As he neared the end of his term, Hollings appealed to citizens to respect the rule of law. On January 22, 1963, a federal court order was issued requiring Harvey Gantt be admitted to Clemson College. SLED agents, following Strom's directions, arrested men on the way to

Clemson who intended to cause a disturbance or worse. They were held long enough to disrupt their plans, and on January 28, 1963, approximately two weeks after Hollings completed his term as governor, Gantt entered Clemson.¹⁰¹ "More than 100 policemen, highway patrolmen and SLED officers were assigned to campus. They set up ten checkpoints to review identification cards of everyone arriving on campus. The SLED plane was available - if needed. Gov. Donald Russell refused an offer for federal troops from U.S. Attorney General Robert Kennedy."¹⁰²

Hollings too, had told Kennedy not to send federal officers to South Carolina.¹⁰³ Possibly, the sight of federal agents, more certainly federal troops, would have contributed further to the inclination of some South Carolinians to resist the court-ordered integration of Clemson. It is difficult to measure the effect such a federal presence on-site might have had. However, both Hollings and his successor as governor, Donald S. Russell, appeared to assess federal officers as unhelpful.

Hollings' effort was far from being limited to guiding the state to accept desegregation of schools. In the field of law enforcement, Hollings stopped the practice of hiring only white SLED agents. The first black agents, Chambers Jenkins and Al Wong, who had been police officers in Charleston, were both appointed at Hollings' direction. The appointment of Jenkins and Wong was a step toward discretion in hiring by other law enforcement agencies and recognizing the legitimacy of integration.

Tension emanated from those opposed to a change in state racial policies. LeRoy Harrelson, an assistant to Hollings, was physically assaulted in the Governor's office by a man armed with a handgun. Harrelson was slugged - there was no gunplay. Whether this was related to the tension is unknown. However, with the assault, Hollings became the first Governor assigned a SLED agent for security.

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Agent Bob Hillyer provided security after 5:00 pm because Hollings' custom was to continue working into the evening after the statehouse closed. Prior to Hollings' instructions regarding Jenkins and Wong, there was no racial (or gender) diversity among SLED officer ranks. The composition of officers was just as it appeared in the cover photograph of this work – all white males. In terms of organizational management, this introduced a key measure of progress by beginning to bring fairness to hiring practices. Discrimination in employment did not stop, but nonetheless, this became an important first step toward the goal. Police departments across South Carolina also began to change hiring practices when the optics of the SLED ranks changed.^{XVIII}

In June 1964, one of the more unseemly events occurred in the history of SLED. Agent George Fender shot and killed another agent, John Zeigler, at the agency's headquarters. Fender, who had the duty as the *officer of the day*, was seriously wounded, but survived and remained an agent. The cause of the gunfight was attributed to a remark made by Fender to Zeigler when passing along a message from Zeigler's wife. The shooting was ruled as self-defense. Fender carried the revolver with which he shot Zeigler for the rest of his career with SLED.

If there was an improvement in agent compensation, a condition often accompanying progress, it was not reflected in the salaries of the fiscal year 1964–65. Agent^{XIX} salaries

^{XVIII} While the perception of equality in employment matters changed at SLED, it would take much longer for equal treatment in all employment matters. McKinley Weaver became the first black agent promoted to a senior level, Carlotta Stackhouse the first black female, and Lydia Glover the first white female.

^{XIX} Agent positions in FY 1964–65 included classifications for general assignment agent (agent), arson agent, lieutenant, technician agent (technician), and technician lieutenant (lieutenant). Agents included Charles Alverson, James Anderson, Lucius Armstrong, Hugh Beasley, Dan Beckman, O. L. Brady, M. N. Cate, Bonner Collins, Earl Collins, J. L. Dollard, Frank Faulk, George Fender, W. H. Ferguson, Jimmy Gantt, Leon Gasque, Otis Hillyer, M. B. Huggins, Paul Jones, L. C. Kemmerlin, Colin King, Leonard Kiser, C. L. McKinnon, Horace McLain, L. E. Merck, James Morris, Seaborn Moss, J. V. Patterson, B. R. Peake, Walter Powell, Olin Redd, Ted Reed, Aubrey Roundtree, Ray Shupe, C. E. Still, Carl Stokes, Robert Stutts, Laney Talbert, George Taylor, W. R. Whitmire, James Wilson, and Stephen Wyndham. Support staff included Senior General Clerk Toccoa Blankenship, Stenographers Betty Nelson and Margie Shealy,

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that year ranged from a low of \$5,092 to a high of \$8,744. Chief Strom's annual salary of \$10,266 and the salaries of support staff members were not included in the average. There also were two agents getting salaries of \$320. They were not included in the range since it is uncertain what such low salaries meant.

Gov. Robert E. McNair (1965–1971) was the chief executive when on the evening of February 8, 1968, gunfire erupted in Orangeburg. Highway patrol officers assigned to keep peace, shot protesters during a tension-filled attempt by black South Carolina State students to integrate a bowling alley. The gunfire ended quickly but resulted in the death of three students and wounding 28 others.

While protests had been primarily peaceful to that point, they were, in part, because of committed leaders, both white and black. Chief Strom was one of those leaders. He met in secret with black leaders, and they discussed protest plans to avoid surprises. However, previously effective communication channels between protesters – who, to that point, were mainly native South Carolinians – and Chief Strom were unavailable in Orangeburg.

The tragic incident, known by many as the Orangeburg Massacre, was an awful misuse of legitimate police authority. It is almost certain that no highway patrolman arose that fateful day with malice and thought to harm another person. Instead, they went to preserve the peace. Nonetheless, the actions of some patrolmen resulted in the loss of life. Nine patrolmen were tried for their part and found not guilty.

However, mistakes can be identified with the clarity of hindsight. The patrolmen were on the front line as they moved to protect firemen responding to put out a bonfire set by the protesting students. A wooden banister was thrown. Unfortunately, in addition to regular sidearms, the patrolmen

Bookkeeper/Stenographer Gladys Toney, and Night Clerk Melvin Purvis, Jr., son of famed FBI Special Agent Melvin Purvis, who brought to justice outlaws John Dillinger and Pretty Boy Floyd.

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were armed with carbines – weapons inappropriate for riot control. Those with shotguns had buckshot rather than less lethal ammunition.

One patrolman fired warning shots in the air, which contributed to other gunfire from patrolmen who reportedly believed they were under fire. Moreover, a cardinal rule in the use of firearms was violated. Officers must know their target. Indiscriminate firing into a crowd indicates that supervision and training has failed. Carbines, buckshot, and warning shots should be prohibited by policy and enforced by supervisors.

SLED agents were on the scene to collect intelligence and conduct investigations and arrest and process suspects, as necessary. Some agents were assigned to secure critical infrastructure like telephone facilities from possible sabotage. Chief Strom was the governor's on-site liaison. No SLED agents were charged. Still, in an ironic twist, black students died in Orangeburg while seeking rights 100 years after the state Constabulary was formed to protect freedmen.

Other confrontations, curfews, and mass arrests followed. In 1969, workers went on strike at the Medical College of South Carolina in Charleston for more than 100 days. Tensions ran so high that the home of the university president was relocated to Fort Johnson. Ironically, Fort Johnson, currently owned by the Department of Natural Resources, was the site of the first shots of the Civil War fired by South Carolina against Fort Sumter.

In Lamar, on March 3, 1970, a white mob of over 100 people attacked school buses carrying black students under a federal desegregation order, but SLED agents and highway patrolmen rescued the innocent children and ended the uprising with the arrest of 29 people. Then, in May 1970, a campus riot over the Vietnam War and the draft erupted at the University of South Carolina. Over this time, Gov. McNair issued 14 Executive Orders declaring emergencies related to

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the civil disorders of the time.¹⁰⁴ SLED was present throughout.



Labor strike at MUSC (Photo courtesy of Bill Barley)

Many changes occurred in law enforcement immediately prior to and during McNair's administration, greatly influencing how SLED and other police agencies operated. During the term of Earl Warren as Chief Justice (1953–1969), a few cases decided by the U.S. Supreme Court had extraordinary influence on both court and police procedure. Warren, who served 14 years as a district attorney, led the Court in many of these decisions.

The late Bruce Littlejohn, who served as Chief Justice of the South Carolina Supreme Court, commented on some of the cases and decisions in his 2005 judicial history.

Three cases have brought about many procedural changes that control the way state trial judges conduct their work. In *Gideon v. Wainwright*, the Supreme Court of the United States ruled that in every serious case an accused person was entitled to an attorney, and if he could not afford one it was the duty of the trial judge to appoint one. *Arizona v. Miranda* held that confessions could not be taken unless the accused was given what we now refer to as

his Miranda rights. *Illinois v. Escobedo* held that every person arrested was entitled to consult his lawyer as soon as the police investigation made him a prime suspect.¹⁰⁵

Gird up Your Loins like a Man

The procedural changes in the law had a tremendously positive collateral impact in police-community relations. However, the character of officers is often more important to the public than legal procedure. Besides the good work by many officers, Chief Strom saw the need to establish and maintain communications with the black community. He could not do this on his own, and one SLED agent, in particular, was important in this task – Mac Weaver. It was not an easy job. The work required patience and courage. McKinley “Mac” Weaver was not the first black agent but he was among the earliest state officers since Reconstruction. He strikes a remarkable contrast to the uncertain character of the possible constable, Charles Good.

Mack T. Weaver, father of McKinley “Mac” Weaver, was born in Hemingway in 1910. He was brought up in a household where education was valued. All 11 children, both sons and daughters, graduated from either four-year colleges or two-year vocational schools at a time when African Americans were just making their way into higher education. Mack Weaver paid his children’s college tuition in cash from the money he made from his tobacco farm.

Mack Weaver was also was an itinerant AME minister, who traveled Williamsburg County each Sunday to preach in black churches. His father’s favorite Bible verse was from the *Book of Job* that began “Gird up your loins now like a man.”

Mack Weaver only completed the 10th grade because all-black Chevis High School ended at the 10th grade. No high school diplomas were issued. By the time Mac entered Chevis, it was a four-year high school. He graduated and went to Waters College, a black school in Florida, to study engineering and electronics. Mac never got his degree because "Uncle Sam called," and he was drafted into the U.S. Army.

Getting to school was a problem for black children when Mac was of school age. Although buses transported white students to school, the all-white Williamsburg School Board would not appropriate any money for a bus to transport black children.

Mack T. Weaver decided to buy a bus from the local Ford dealership. African American families helped pay for the vehicle by giving Mack \$3 a week to transport their children to school. His sons say this charitable initiative came not only from his desire to see all black children receive an education, but also the community commitment he felt as a long-time itinerant preacher.¹⁰⁶

The allegory of Mac's father foretold the steady commitment of black SLED agents, who along with their white counterparts, kept the peace during racially charged tense circumstances. They are a major part of South Carolina's relatively peaceful experience with integration.

S.C. Law Enforcement Chiefs Known to Serve Before 1974

<i>Chief</i> ^{xx}	<i>Appointing Governor</i>
John B. Hubbard	Robert Scott, 1868–1872
William Butler	Wade Hampton, 1876–1879
T.S. Gaillard	Ben Tillman, 1890–1894
H.L. Bell	Robert Cooper, 1919–1922
J.C. Hall	Thomas McLeod, 1923–1927
James Altom	Thomas McLeod, 1923–1927
John W. Richardson	John G. Richards, 1927–1931
J. Henry Jeanes	Appointed by Olin Johnston (1st Term) 1935–1939; Reappointed by Burnet Maybank, 1939–1941
G.R. Richardson	Burnet Maybank, 1939–1941
S.J. Pratt	Joseph Harley, 1941–1942
A. Roy Ashley	Appointed by Olin Johnston (2nd Term) 1943–1945; Reappointed by Ransome Williams, 1945–1947
G.R. Richardson	Ransome Williams, 1945–1947
Joel D. Townsend	Strom Thurmond, 1947–1951
Orin L. Brady	Appointed by Strom Thurmond, 1947–1951; Reappointed by James Byrnes, 1951–1955
J.P. Strom	Appointed Acting Chief by Strom Thurmond; Appointed Chief by Timmerman; Reappointed by Hollings, Russell, McNair, West ^{xxi}

^{xx} From Gov. John Evans’ term (1894 – 1897) through part or all of Gov. Richard Manning’s (1915 – 1919) term, the constabulary was organized into divisions with each having its own chief. In the early years there only were “Upper” and “Lower” Divisions. Additional divisions were later added so as to have fewer counties in each. During Gov. Duncan Heyward’s term (1903 – 1907), the “Greenville Division” consisted of Greenville, Laurens, Newberry, Saluda, and Edgefield Counties.

^{xxi} Strom continued as chief after 1974 under Governors Edwards, Riley, and Campbell.

Late 20th Century - A Force for Modernity

In his first month as governor, a violent crime in Marlboro County demanded the attention of Gov. John C. West (1971–1975). On January 16, 1971, the late state Senator John “Jack” Lindsay of Bennettsville was targeted in a kidnapping plot. Lindsay was away, but his wife was shot and survived serious wounds.

The bizarre crime was intended to exchange Lindsay for black radical Angela Davis being held in California on murder charges. The plot unraveled when one kidnapper was shot by Bennettsville resident Jamie Lee. A war veteran and former commando, Lee and his wife were taken hostage along with Lindsay’s wife as the kidnappers went house to house looking for their intended victim. Lee broke free, got a handgun and started shooting. The second kidnapper fled and later surrendered to Strom and his top assistant, Leon Gasque.¹⁰⁷



Gov. West Greets (L-R) Lt. and Mrs. Jim Wilson, Lt. Stephen “Wyndie” Wyndham and Capt. Leon Gasque at Governor’s Mansion

Three important events for law enforcement marked West's term as governor. Although calls were made by numerous leaders over many years, the South Carolina state government was without a comprehensive employment merit system for state employees. Gov. Byrnes called for a merit system: several state agencies had their own, but SLED was not among them. This changed for the agency under West. In a remarkable and significant reform, SLED agents quietly moved from serving at the pleasure of the governor to the state merit system, which required cause for dismissal. Little could be more important for an agency conducting public integrity investigations. If agents are to pursue wrongdoing by persons in politically influential positions, they must know their jobs are secure. After all, powerful people can damage the reputation or career of a public employee in more than one way.

Under West, the collection and exchange of criminal information among law enforcement were much improved. Prosecutors and courts currently rely on the professional management of incident reports, criminal history record information, and systems to electronically transmit and receive such information. Teletype systems first connected SLED to out of state agencies. Later, connectivity was extended from SLED to include local agencies, and eventually transitioned to the use of current Internet protocols.

The federal-state system for the Interstate Identification Index (III) established a repository of criminal history record information. The FBI's National Crime Information Center (NCIC) created databases on wanted persons, stolen property and much more. The National Law Enforcement Telecommunications System (NLETS) was operated with the financial support of SLED in South Carolina and other state agencies across the nation to facilitate the exchange of information among all police agencies.

West embraced these reforms and traveled across the state with SLED agents to promote participation in the programs that became routine. Without these steps, the

administration of justice would slow down, just as it would without the scientific analysis of forensic evidence.

During the West administration, SLED was still small enough for the entire staff to enjoy a collegial relationship with members of other government offices. West was the last governor to host SLED agents for a Christmas dinner at the Governor's Mansion.

Consent of the Senate Returns

The change under West was the most interesting. In the 1974 governor's race, it appeared that either Democrat Charles "Pug" Ravenel or Republican state Senator Jim Edwards would win the upcoming election. Some suspected outlier Ravenel wanted to replace Chief Strom, and Edwards had no track record with the chief, as no Republican had served as governor since Reconstruction. Strom felt his job security threatened by the unknown nature of these candidates.

Every state senator joined to sponsor a bill that became Act 1240, *South Carolina Statutes at Large*, 1974. Under the Act, "There is hereby *created* the South Carolina Law Enforcement Division. The division shall be headed by a chief who shall be appointed by the Governor by and with the advice and consent of the Senate and shall hold office until his successor shall have been appointed and qualified." Organizational change at the chief's level could only be accomplished by the authority of both the governor and the State Senate.

Vicious Crimes and Unusual Cases

The middle of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries saw a South Carolina far different from the current state. The 1900 census reported 557,807 whites and 782,321 blacks in South Carolina out of the total population of 1,340,316. In 1910, the General Assembly passed a law

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regulating the rates charged for the supply of water, gas or electricity furnished to cities.

Such services were generally not available in the country. South Carolina was mostly a rural agricultural state, but the state was undergoing a huge shift in demographics. Whites became the majority population in 1923. However, before substantive change came in race relations, the state grappled with another social issue personified: John Barley. Crime existed throughout the centuries, but the passage of time seemed to present new types of crime and more of it.

Changes in the harshness of some crime influenced constables and later SLED agents while serving South Carolina. Gov. West and those following found SLED as an organization that was needed to help resolve serious crimes by people who seemed increasingly brutal. Notorious killers investigated by SLED included serial killer Donald Henry "Pee Wee" Gaskins whose criminal career as a murderer began in the 1950s when after being sentenced to six years in prison for assault he was raped and in turn killed his rapist.

As a result, an additional three years were added for him to serve his sentence. After prison, he continued raping, torturing, and killing people until committing his final murder in 1982 while back in prison. He was known to have murdered eight people, but claimed he killed far more in his quest to be "America's meanest man". He is gone now.



Donald Henry "Pee Wee" Gaskins

Gaskins was put to death in Columbia in September 1991. He was executed for the 1982 murder-for-hire of Rudolph Tyner, a fellow convicted killer who occupied a cell near Gaskins in the old Central Correctional Institute or "CCI" as it was locally known. Gaskins was hired to kill Tyner in prison by Tony Cimo, the son of Tyner's victim. The method chosen by Gaskins to kill Tyner was unique but perfectly suited for prison. After trying other options, Gaskins gave Tyner a bomb disguised as a radio. It was effective.

At the time, portable radios were often referred to as "boom boxes" and might be held by some on the shoulder next to the head with the volume turned up. To be certain Tyner used the radio in this manner, Gaskins told him that he could hear him speaking if he held the radio against his ear. When Tyner placed the radio on his shoulder, Gaskins plugged in an extension cord to the radio and the explosive material hidden in the radio detonated.

Retired SLED Lt. Eddie Tallon, later a state representative from Spartanburg, conducted the murder investigation. A movie titled, "Vengeance: The Story of Tony Cimo" was made for television about the crime. A separate SLED investigation was conducted to determine how explosives entered a maximum security prison. Cell Block One, where the murder took place, was a hellish place that felt unreal from the noises and smells within. Sherman is said to have stabled his horses in the building when taking Columbia during the Civil War. The cells had low dungeon-like doors with flat iron rather than bars, and there was both a pervasive filthy stench and frequent piercing shrieks that assaulted the senses.

The truth was the prison had long before outlived any respectability as a prison in modern society, and getting anything out was a bigger challenge than getting something smuggled in. SLED agents had to pay visits there fairly often to interview inmates about their knowledge of unsolved crimes. CCI is gone, replaced by condominiums on the Congaree River.

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However before being demolished, the Criminal Justice Academy students used to visit CCI as part of the curriculum for police trainees. The Department of Corrections would warn the police trainees against wearing blue jeans because the inmates wore jeans. You didn't want to be confused for an inmate if trouble started. Today's trainees and the inmates wear uniforms. The prison is different, the clothes are different, but the inmates are the same.

Nearly every serious crime committed in South Carolina has some nexus with SLED. It might be through forensic examination of evidence, agents conducting an investigation, a wanted person record established in the crime network, or intelligence reports disseminated by the Fusion Center. SLED touches the investigation of most serious criminal investigations.

In addition to the reform regarding the appointment of the chief, there was another important improvement in Act 1240. Constables served at the pleasure of the governor. With Act 1240, agents of the South Carolina Law Enforcement Division continue to be appointed by governors, but the dismissal of agents requires a reason.^{xxii}

The next year, Captain Leon Gasque, the same agent with Strom when the Bennettsville kidnapper surrendered, referring to the 1974 reform, was quoted in the *Index Journal*, in 1975, saying, "The agency replaced the old state Constabulary which deserved and received a lot of criticism. The governor's edict [the 1947 concurrent resolution] which established SLED became law."¹⁰⁸

^{xxii} Act 1240, S.C. Statutes at Large, 1974, p. 2878. SECTION 1: "There is hereby created the South Carolina Law Enforcement Division. The division shall be headed by a chief who shall be appointed by the Governor by and with the advice and consent of the Senate and shall hold office until his successor shall have been appointed and qualified. The term of the chief shall be coterminous with that of the appointing governor. The Governor may, at his discretion, appoint such other agents as he may deem necessary to assist in the detection of crime and the enforcement of criminal laws of this State. The agents shall have such rank or title as may be provided under the State Employees Classification System. The chief may appoint such other personnel as is deemed necessary and as is provided in the annual appropriations act. All agents appointed by the Governor shall be subject to discharge for cause which shall be subject to review as is now provided by law for other state employees."

Thus, SLED became less of a governor-centric organization, now staffed by officers known as agents. Constables were no longer members of the agency; instead, they were affiliates managed on behalf of the governor. After more than 100 years, the selection of a chief no longer was at the sole discretion of the governor, and the long transformation of the state Constabulary to SLED was complete. James Preston Strom became the only man to serve as chief South Carolina Law Enforcement Division without Senate confirmation (pre-1974) and with Senate confirmation (post-1974).

Unfortunately, about the same time the reforms were enabled, there was a problem developing with supervision of narcotics agents and operations. A serious weakness was identified when five narcotics agents were found conspiring to violate the drug laws. By the time a federal grand jury investigation concluded in 1976, with indictments against the men, only one of the five remained an agent.

When the grand jury returned indictments, one had resigned under pressure for violating procedures, one was fired and arrested by SLED, another had been fired, one was under suspension from SLED, and the one who was still an agent was soon terminated. In response to the management concerns, SLED put a tough-minded agent and lawyer, Buford Mabry, in charge of narcotics enforcement and developed new or revised policy to ensure the integrity of drug law enforcement operations, including the handling of confidential funds, informants, and other undercover operations. The changes led to meaningful reform in the three greatest areas of concern: Selection, training, and supervision of agents assigned to drug law enforcement.

Non-compensated Constables Remain

The reformation of the constabulary resulted in a different, more professional law enforcement organization – SLED. On the other hand, the non-compensated constabulary, which continued as a volunteer force,

remained an unorganized body with limited guidance. Reforms to the largely patronage driven constabulary would take longer, and it is likely Chief Strom simply did not wish to interfere with a program SLED managed for the governor. If the governor wasn't concerned, Chief Strom maintained a "hands off" position on the non-compensated constables.

Nonetheless throughout the 1970s, those who wanted to actually perform work as non-compensated constables had their chance and often operated much like independent contractors. Some chose to work with and were accepted by police departments or sheriff's offices. While most did little to nothing to participate in law enforcement actions and were seen as political *throwbacks* by paid trained officers, a few provided helpful assistance to local law enforcement agencies. But most uncompensated constables sought authority they never intended to use unless possibly to impress.

A Foreign Spy and SLED

The warm relations enjoyed between Gov. West and SLED help explain why West contacted SLED for assistance with a matter, seemingly more appropriately handled by the FBI, well after West was governor. Sometime before the dissolution of the USSR, two SLED agents were called to the office of the late Capt. Leon Gasque.

West a former U.S. ambassador to Saudi Arabia, formed friendships with noted international figures and reported one such friend was a doctor living at Hilton Head. The doctor sought protection from an alleged Soviet operative intending him unspecified harm. The reason for all this was unclear, but the two agents were to locate the operative and ensure the safety of the doctor.

The operative was thought to be in the Midlands area and attempting to locate the doctor from Columbia. The

inquiry began by checking motels near the Columbia Airport for foreign guests. A suspect was identified as a French-speaking subject traveling on a Swiss passport. The subject provided no plausible reason for being in Columbia and was taken to SLED headquarters. There, he was clearly informed that he was *persona non grata*. He was returned to his motel room, but soon went to the airport.

Why though had SLED been called upon to handle a matter that seemed better suited for the FBI? Why were agents not given the name of the doctor and why was a likely Soviet or Eastern-Bloc operative clearly frightening to the doctor? Unsatisfied with what they knew, the agents inquired about the operative through Interpol.

Later, one of the agents received an urgent call from the Washington-based liaison for Interpol advising that the subject with the Swiss passport was serving a long prison sentence in Europe. With the operative confirmed as using a false identity and fraudulent passport, inquiries were made about a doctor, possibly a European immigrant, residing at Hilton Head.

A doctor was discovered living on Hilton Head Island who had treated a close relative of the late Marshal Josip Broz Tito. The doctor claimed success in treating certain cancers with a radical technique that was supposedly used on a grandchild of Tito. The agents assessed the operative's target was the doctor and that his immigration status was questionable. The doctor believed he would be imprisoned or worse, if deported. A news story about the doctor later corroborated some of these facts.

Time is necessary to thoroughly investigate certain cases. SLED agents generally are permitted longer to work the investigations that require more time to complete. This is not always true for local agencies which often find it challenging to address long-term investigations due to the demand on resources from calls for service.

Notwithstanding the significant reform that resulted in SLED becoming a full-fledged agency in 1974, when Gov. Jim Edwards (1975–1979) took office, there were still non-compensated state constables almost working as independent state contractors. Most only wanted a badge and a gun without performing any real law enforcement duties. Addressing this condition, the *Greenville News* asked, "Who has [a] gun, makes arrests but isn't a policeman?" ¹⁰⁹ It was a point beginning the reform of the non-compensated constables program. But this too would take time.

Notwithstanding the legitimate concerns about non-compensated constables, a few constables selflessly spent countless hours performing duties as volunteers. An example could be found in Larry Powers of Spartanburg County. Powers worked tirelessly without compensation, assisting the Spartanburg County Sheriff's Office. He largely taught himself how to be a good law enforcement officer and eventually resigned his constable's commission to become a paid deputy sheriff. In that capacity, he excelled and rose through the ranks to become a senior member of the sheriff's department before heading the Spartanburg County Detention Center.

Since the governor's state constables program was overseen by SLED, when a misdeed or unprofessional conduct by a non-compensated constable was alleged, it might also be adverse for SLED. At this time, the commissions issued for non-compensated constables were bifurcated. One category was issued for mostly political or honorary reasons and granted authority "without compensation." Another category was necessary for state agency business that was thought to require police powers even though the agency was not primarily a law enforcement department. These were issued "without additional compensation".

As if it wasn't confusing enough with state constables, there were also local magistrate's constables. Some magistrate's constables were for unclear reasons also issued

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state constable commissions. After receiving complaints Gov. James Edwards requested the resignations of about 36 state constables, who also served as magistrate's constables, as it violated the constitutional provision prohibiting dual office holding.^{XXIII} Magistrate's constables were paid employees of the summary courts and performed roles largely consisting of serving papers and acting as bailiffs during court.

Edwards requested the resignations because of repeated complaints about some magistrate's constables "playing cops and robbers – undirected and uncontrolled, and with no training for the most part." He unequivocally stated the state constable commissions would be revoked if the 36 officers did not resign. The governor indicated concern over complaints state constables, who also were magistrate's constables, were initiating raids and arrests on their own, and said the commissions were not issued for that purpose.¹¹⁰



Future Gov. Campbell, then incumbent Gov. Edwards, and former Gov. Thurmond gather under SLED security umbrella.

^{XXIII} Article VI, Section 3 of the South Carolina Constitution currently addresses dual office holding: No person may hold two offices of honor or profit at the same time. This limitation does not apply to officers in the militia, notaries public, members of lawfully and regularly organized fire departments, constables, or delegates to a constitutional convention. (1972 (57) 3181; 1973 (58) 83; 1989 Act No. 9.) The exception applies to non-compensated state constables. As governor, Strom Thurmond addressed the issue of dual office holding by his constabulary chief, who briefly also had collateral service with the Highway Patrol.

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During the administration of Gov. Edwards, SLED and the Highway Patrol worked numerous anti-nuclear and pro-environmental demonstrations. Edwards also used SLED to impress out of state executives when recruiting industry. When the giant corporation Fluor International was negotiating the purchase of Daniel Construction Company, Edwards dispatched SLED to provide security for the visiting top executives looking over the Greenville-based Daniels. In an interesting later twist, Edwards would become U.S. Secretary of Energy and would continue facing opposition to nuclear programs and projects.

Often meeting protest groups led by activist South Carolinian Brett Bursey, officers would mass forces to keep protesters safely away from both the federal government's installation at the Savannah River Site and various commercial power generating fixed nuclear facilities. Bursey said he found SLED reasonable in most cases and that his later experiences with Robert Stewart were very positive.¹¹¹

Corruptio Optimi Pessima

The "corruption of the best is the worst." Starting in the 1970s, SLED was frequently pressed into service with an expanded role for investigating allegations involving matters of public integrity or the lack thereof. The responsibility fell to SLED naturally enough as it was often in a better position than a local law enforcement agency to conduct an investigation of corruption with the necessary independence.

This purpose did not begin at this point in time, but the number of such investigations increased. This part of the SLED mission continued under all future governors. Later, the agency's jurisdiction would be clarified in state statutes in part in order to ensure that the authority conducts investigations without interference.^{XXIV} Typically, conducting public integrity investigations would not supplant any other duty; rather, it normally contributed to a growing caseload for agents.

The agency was fortunate to have the steady hand of a governor, at that time, who led by example of personal

^{XXIV} South Carolina Code of Laws section 23-3-15 provides: "Additional jurisdiction, authority and responsibilities, exclusive authority, and other agencies or departments to assist SLED.

(A) In addition to those authorities and responsibilities set forth in this chapter, the South Carolina Law Enforcement Division shall have specific and exclusive jurisdiction and authority statewide on behalf of the State, in matters including but not limited to the following functions and activities:

(1) the investigation of organized criminal activities or combined state-federal interstate criminal activities, all general criminal investigations, arson investigation, and emergency event management pertaining to explosive devices;

(2) the maintenance and operation of a statewide comprehensive forensic sciences laboratory;

(3) covert investigation of illegal activities pertaining to and the interdiction of narcotics and other illicit substances;

(4) operation and maintenance of a central, statewide criminal justice data base and data communication system;

(5) establishment and operation of highly specialized, tactical response law enforcement units within the division;

(6) operation and regulation of state polygraph examination services;

(7) law enforcement, regulation enforcement, and inspections under Title 61;

(8) the coordination of counter-terrorism efforts, including prevention against, preparation for, response to, and crisis management of acts of terrorism, in or affecting this State; coordination of federal grants associated with homeland security; creation of councils appropriate to its mission; and service as the Governor's representative to the United States Department of Homeland Security; and

(9) other activities consistent with the mission of the division or otherwise as proscribed by law."

integrity and commitment to the common good. An effective consensus builder for public policy, Gov. Richard W. Riley (1979–1987) made education the hallmark of his two terms as governor, followed by his appointment as the U.S. Secretary of Education. As a robust young man who enjoyed outdoor sports, Riley was struck with extremely painful rheumatoid arthritis while in the Navy. Eventually, his spine was fused, leaving him somewhat bent over with less range of motion. The condition never diminished his drive or enthusiasm, but on at least one occasion presented a security concern for a SLED agent.

While walking on a rainy day through the underground garage to enter the governor's statehouse office, an itinerant preacher noticed that the governor was walking bent over. A muscular and enthusiastic man, the preacher rushed to throw his arms around the governor from behind. With the governor was wrapped in a virtual bear hug, the preacher exclaimed, "I can fix your back!" The preacher's plan, although well-intended, would potentially have caused great pain and possibly serious physical harm to the governor. Fortunately, Steve Norris, the SLED agent assigned to Riley for security, rushed to intervene and "peeled" the preacher from Riley.

A long-serving state attorney general completed 24 years in that office about midway between the first and second terms of Gov. Riley. Wofford College graduate Daniel R. McLeod, who received his law degree from the University of South Carolina, was immensely important in shaping the South Carolina Law Enforcement Division.

Being elected Attorney General of South Carolina in 1958 and re-elected five times placed McLeod in the forefront of numerous difficult legal issues. Many of those

were shared with Chief Strom and his agents. McLeod was devoted to being attorney general.

Both McLeod and his attorneys were easily available to SLED agents, and such access made a huge difference for investigations and prosecutions where the state had special interest. While there have been good attorneys general since McLeod, none offered quite the same confidence in feeling on the same team.

McLeod had a significant hearing loss and used hearing aids in both ears. It didn't limit his ability to engage with agents to understand a case. When agents took lengthy case reports to meet with the "General", McLeod would take the agent into a conference room, direct the agent to a seat at the table, and turn his hearing aids off.

He would then read the report cover to cover without distraction before asking necessary questions about the investigation. The experience was slightly awkward for the agent making his first visit to see Attorney General McLeod to sit in silence. But once the process was understood, agents appreciated McLeod's commitment to understanding the case.

Gov. Riley treated his security and all SLED agents with respect, as well as encouraging them during difficult times. It was helpful as there were major law enforcement cases handled by SLED during Riley's administration. One such trying time was in 1985 when Larry Gene Bell killed two females from Columbia – one a young woman and the other still a girl.

The kidnappings and murders scared the entire community like no other crime because the suspect taunted the police with phone calls. He was eventually caught and convicted based in part on indented writing identified in the SLED Questioned Documents lab.

Riley followed the case personally and made all state resources available to SLED. Agents, deputies, and officers from the Highway Patrol, and the Wildlife and Marine Resources Commission all desperately struggled in a futile effort to save the young woman, thinking she was still alive.

SLED Lieutenant (later captain) James "Skeet" Perry served as the lead agent in the case leading to the conviction and execution of Bell. Later, the crime lab techniques used in the case were used in forensic instruction at the FBI National Academy on the Quantico Marine Base in Virginia.

Having long existed as a problem unknown to most people, illegal drugs were used and noticed by many for the first time beginning in the 1960s. With public concern about drugs escalating, the 1980s witnessed sacrifice in the form of the personal lives of SLED agents being disrupted in an effort to stem the flow of illegal drug manufacture and importation.

At first, using relatively meager resources, the assets available for the counter-drug offensive grew as the scourge of drug use increased, but dedicated agents still spent countless nights away from hearth and home conducting surveillance while waiting for the arrival of a drug shipment. It was the decade of the TV show *Miami Vice* and fighting drugs took a toll on SLED agents in a righteous struggle just as depicted in the series.

In a possibly less glamorous but equally important work during Riley's administration, non-compensated state Constable Valdon Osborne Keith was shot and killed on Nov. 28, 1985. Constable Keith was working with Greenville County Sheriff's deputies as they tried to stop a car being driven by suspects wanted for armed robbery. Other volunteer constables would follow in subsequent years to give their full measure of devotion to duty.

In the second year of Riley's first term as governor, all the good qualities of service in the public's interest as exhibited by Valdon Keith were ignored by a few Dillon

County men, who were expected by residents to do better. Unlike Dillon son, Ben Bernanke, the economist and honorable former chairman of the Federal Reserve, a state senator, a prominent local businessman, and other well-known figures from Dillon set contrasting models to Keith.

In 1980, in the small Pee Dee town of Dillon, there were other hugely important members of the community. One was a state senator, one a former member of the State Highway Commission and the county chairman of the Democrat Party, and the others were lower level leaders. They included former state senator Gene Carmichael and Alan Shafer, the owner of the I-95 tourist attraction "South of the Border." The community in which they lived supported them and counted on their support in return. But there is an extremely good word to describe the trust between these men and their community – betrayed.

Before "Lost Trust" Was a Code Name

Diminished trust in government was the collateral damage from the exploitation of voters through election fraud by these men of position and power. They lived in a poor and poorly educated farming community where local people depended on their help with the problems of living in a rural community with little opportunity. Such crime, by nature, is an offense to the public justice. On October 7, 1980, U.S. Representative John Jenrette was convicted of accepting a bribe from undercover FBI agents posing as wealthy Arabs seeking official favors. Jenrette was from the Pee Dee region of South Carolina which saw other public officials in trouble with the law that year.

The race for Jenrette's congressional seat on the ballot created federal jurisdiction in an election fraud in the race for Dillon County Sheriff. State Senator Eugene Carmichael and former Highway Commissioner Alan Shafer, were among public officials and 28 others investigated by SLED and convicted as participants in an illegal scheme to re-elect Roy Lee as sheriff. The federal grand jury, for which SLED agents

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acted as investigators, brought charges that included conspiracy, obstruction of justice, and buying absentee votes against both sides in the sheriff's race. Additional cases would follow in the Pee Dee that also involved absentee ballots.



Sheriff Roy Lee Campaign Key Fob (Courtesy of Lennie Hicks)

While prosecuted by the U.S. Department of Justice with attorneys from both "main Justice" and the U.S. Attorney's office, the Dillon County case involved powerful state figures as subjects of the investigation and put tremendous pressure on SLED. Riley let the system work without interference from the governor's office. This was critical due to the political pressures and the risk some faced by telling the truth.

A measure of the intensity surrounding the investigation, led by then Lieutenant Robert Stewart, was the need to place a witness and his children into the federal witness protection program. The qualifications and process required are not simple. Completely new identities and a new home in an undisclosed location are provided by the U.S. Marshal's Service for those in the program. Preparing and waiting for these changes takes time. Until ready, the protection of the witness remains the responsibility of the investigating agents.

SLED handled the security by keeping two agents with the witness and family at all times. They temporarily stayed at an undisclosed location within the state in what could be called a "safe house" in the parlance of police or spy novels. The FBI furnished the funds for the housing and food. SLED provided necessary transportation, which consisted only of traveling to meet with prosecutors or the Marshal's Service program coordinator. Not everything went smoothly.

It can be hard to hide in South Carolina. Often stated is the old adage: "Either you are related to them [people you encounter] or you know someone who is." The local custom of speaking to and inquiring about others makes it difficult to go about business unnoticed. SLED agents had to leave the "safe house" to pick up food and supplies, as well as replenish operating cash to pay for the necessary items.

During a trip to pick up money that had been wired to the agents, a resident SLED agent recognized the "out of town" agents providing security and followed, apparently curious as to their purpose in his assigned county. On another occasion, while staying with the witness and family at a Columbia motel, a SLED agent standing beside the family was recognized by a high school friend.

At the same motel the agents, who were in a room across the hall from the witness and family, were awakened from sleep by the sound of someone kicking and pounding on a door. Fearing it was the door to the room used by the family under guard, agents rushed into the hall to encounter the inebriated warden of a state prison. He was looking for someone he met in the motel bar.

While inequalities have existed in our history, no one's vote is less or more important than another's. It is among

the best of our national values, and SLED agents were proud to be part of protecting this as a cherished value.

Another unusual case of this period also involved important values –the honesty of law enforcement officers. The Police Chief of Columbia, Arthur Hess, was surreptitiously videotaped by SLED agents taking \$3,000 cash in a payoff to protect gambling operations from Joel Hendrix, a Columbia nightclub operator. Hess was convicted in 1981. While free on appeal, the former police chief from a Chicago suburb faked his own death and absconded until spotted and arrested at Disney World. Government cannot properly function unless the people have trust in its institutions, including the police.

Engineering and Human Failings

On the morning of July 6, 1983, someone with the Santee Cooper Power Company noticed water roiling to the surface of the Cooper River on the downstream side of the Pinopolis Dam. The waters of the 60,300 acres Lake Moultrie are impounded by the dam. Officials became concerned as the muddy and turbulent quality of the water was not normal. Concern about the integrity of the earthen dam escalated quickly to the Office of Gov. Dick Riley. Evidence indicated that a hole had formed in the dam; state energy advisors and emergency officials reported an existential threat to the people and property downstream.

The Governor ordered an evacuation of the Tail Race Canal and other nearby areas along the Cooper River. This required a coordinated multi-agency law enforcement effort that was led by SLED beginning in daylight and continuing all night. Highway Patrol officers manned traffic control points while SLED agents went from door to door asking the residents to leave.

Eventually, the source of the leaking water was identified as a pipe beneath the dam, which had its old seal given way. Engineers plugged the leak, and once again, the

impounded waters of the Santee River were safely discharged for a controlled commingling with waters flowing onward to the Atlantic Ocean.

Before the cause of the leak was determined, agents fanned out through the community on the downstream side to evacuate about 3,000 people living in the area. To give officers time to get out of harm's way, an agent was posted at an observation point (OP) to keep an eye on roiling water from the leak. Every 15 minutes, a report was issued via police radio. Throughout the night, a plaintive announcement repeated regularly: "No change at the OP."

When agents knocked on doors and informed those inside of the evacuation, most asked the agents to repeat the information as they struggled to comprehend. A few quick souls sprang into action, but more people took the time to process what they had heard.

At one home, the household consisted of both parents and three or four kids ranging from toddler to somewhere in grade school. "You're going to make us leave?" asked the father, as the mother looked on worriedly. "No, you have to leave for their safety, but we're not forcing anyone," replied the agents. "We're not going, we're staying right here," declared the father with determination. One of the agents asked, "What about your children? If the dam goes, there'll be a 70-foot wall of water rushing through here!"

"I'm ready, retorted the father." He backed away slightly from the front door and tilted his head toward the rear of the house. "I've got what I need. We'll ride it out." The father explained, "Going to take everybody out to my boat, dog too. I got it tied to a tree so it won't get washed away."

Standing in the doorway, the dim illumination from a "property light" filtered through the Spanish moss draped

from the massive branches of live oak trees. The agents attempted to persuade him to abandon the plan as it was too risky for the children, but the father was adamant.

There was no house next door in this part of the small river community. Houses along the water were built on stilts, like beach houses, to guard against the river flooding. The design would not help if the dam breached.

The sole occupant at the next stop greeted the agents graciously. He knew the risks. He intended to stay. "I've lived my life and see no reason to leave," he said. "Whatever happens makes no difference." Many of the people who lived there simply wanted to be left alone. The less contact with the authorities and fewer the rules, the better, some thought. A voice on the police radio said, "No change at the OP."

Tragedy at the University and Support from the Governor

Another strange investigation began on April 18, 1984, when Philip Zeltner, a former philosophy professor, arrived at President James Holderman's office near the Horseshoe at the University of South Carolina. A young intern, Pat Bowman, was in the office, but not Holderman. Zeltner was denied tenure in 1981 for the third time and held Holderman responsible. He took Bowman hostage at gunpoint and held him in handcuffs until exchanging him for his attorney. SLED agents and SWAT team members took positions in and around the Osborne Administration building and attempted negotiation. Instead, Zeltner killed himself while playing a funeral dirge and left 30 silver coins on Holderman's desk. Negotiating with a philosophy professor has its challenges, and the end probably was decided long in advance.

Holderman was later the subject of SLED investigation of his conduct in office including extravagant gifts given by Holderman and travel described by USC Foundation officials

as "questionable transactions".¹¹² Holderman was indicted for using a public office for personal gain and receiving extra compensation. In an unusual twist, the *Greenville News* dug up 30 boxes of USC records and five boxes of records from the Carolina Research and Development Foundation in a Richland County landfill relevant to Holderman's activities. Some records remained missing.¹¹³ Ultimately, the investigation led to a conviction for income tax evasion. USC president Holderman purchased many extravagant gifts which were bestowed on others to curry favor. He resigned from the university in 1990, and after relocating to Florida, was investigated by the FBI for unrelated money laundering.



Gov. Richard W. Riley (center) accepts SLED seal from Chief J.P. Strom (right) in 1984. The author (left) looks on.

A New Professionalism

Natural disasters followed by man-made corruption were major challenges during Gov. Carrol Campbell's terms (1987–1995) that cemented a mutual respect between agents and the chief executive. But first Campbell set a marker for professionalism in SLED, after the death of J.P. Strom, by deciding the new chief must have a graduate degree. Three men were given serious consideration: Lexington County Sheriff James R. Metts, Greenville County Sheriff Johnnie Mack Brown, and SLED Major Robert M. Stewart.

The governor's wise choice was to select the second in command at SLED, Robert Stewart, as Strom's replacement. He would look to the new chief more than any other agency head for help in meeting these and other challenges.



Gov. Carrol A. Campbell, Jr.

If Byrnes and Thurmond transitioned the constabulary into SLED, Campbell greatly enhanced the professionalism of the agency. He started with a commitment made in his inaugural address: "Under my administration, the fight against crime will be waged with vigor."¹¹⁴ Campbell was particularly concerned with drug abuse.

He soon addressed critical manpower needs in drug law enforcement with an expansion of personnel by

Executive Order. The Retaliation Against Illegal Drugs (RAID) team was established at SLED by Campbell temporarily assigning officers from the Highway Patrol and the Department of Natural Resources to perform narcotics enforcement work. The team produced results, and several officers chose to remain at SLED when eventually, the unit stood down.

One year into Campbell's term SLED made a major organizational change by establishing districts –once again. It is unclear when the districts in use in the 1950s were disbanded, but geographic areas of responsibility were restored under a plan conceived before Chief Strom's death and executed under Robert Stewart. SLED established regions for the Piedmont, Midlands, Pee Dee, and Lowcountry. A captain was placed in charge of each region.

Agency spokesman Hugh Munn said, "Under the new system requests for investigations will be routed to the district captains, who will assign cases to the agents and keep up with their investigations." ¹¹⁵ This shift in the process for case assignment represented one of Stewart's earliest moves to improve accountability in the organization. It was also popular with field agents who enjoyed a measure of separation from headquarters.

Destructive hurricanes are remarkably short-lived in the memories of those who know of the storms but did not live through one. Hurricane Hugo strengthened to a category five storm soon after forming but weakened to a category four before making landfall near Sullivan's Island, South Carolina on September 22, 1989. The National Weather Service reported, "Due to Hugo's rapid forward speed and relatively large size, hurricane force winds were able to reach inland areas that almost never see such severe conditions."

Hurricane Hugo was one of the largest and strongest hurricanes in South Carolina's history. Gov. Campbell provided effective leadership responding to the storm and expected the same from Stewart. Campbell's style was

"hands on" and Stewart led from the gut.¹¹⁶ Both men relentlessly worked to restore normalcy after Hugo. Law enforcement officers enforced curfews, guarded homes and businesses from looters, and manned traffic control points. Almost immediately after Hugo struck Campbell was surveying damage at the coast.

One night at about 2:00 AM during the Hurricane Hugo experience, Campbell called the state emergency operations center and gave the SLED agent on duty the names of several corporate executives and others he thought could help get power restored. Following instructions, the agent awakened CEOs and the state prison director to inform them the governor wanted them to meet him at first light. Campbell intended to put everyone to work from corporate heads to prisoners. Indeed, the entire state pulled together in sharp contrast with the experience of some states in later storms.

An audit requested by SLED in January 1990 illustrated how the agency case acceptance policy dictated an assessment to determine whether allegations indicated a crime involved. In January 1990 the Town of Salem, concerned about the discovery of a one million dollar debt, contacted SLED with a resolution from the Town Council requesting a SLED investigation. The Town sought an inquiry into whether funds had been properly handled. However, SLED declined the request as no crime was asserted. SLED's policy required a specific allegation of wrongdoing. As an alternative, SLED requested an audit by the state auditor to look for material weaknesses.¹¹⁷

In 1990, an undercover corruption investigation of the S.C. General Assembly, dubbed with the FBI code name as "Operation Lost Trust," was underway while SLED was also investigating corruption. Among other cases, SLED was

investigating allegations that Highway Department employees were accepting money from highway contractors. The totality of federal and state investigations and corresponding revelations threatened public trust in the state government. Operation Lost Trust investigation into legislators selling their votes was a shock to the body politic. The FBI investigation used undercover operatives to solicit legislator support of a pretense proposal for horse and dog racing in exchange for money.

It was a busy time for SLED agents working public integrity investigations. Several SLED cases either included public officials as targets or the public officials were otherwise involved. Sometimes the officials were indirectly involved but had connections to a suspect that created suspicion through a personal or business association. The investigation of Highway Department employees in contract matters, an investigation of extremely complex issues surrounding bonds for Patriot's Point and an investigation of the Director of the former Aeronautics Commission for wiretapping were underway during this time. But these were far from the only corruption cases being handled.

B.J. Gordan, a former state representative from Williamsburg County, was tangentially mentioned during SLED investigation only to later be convicted of conspiring to violate the Hobbs Act, a federal anti-bribery statute. Other public officials, some of whom were the direct subjects of SLED investigations, were among the 28 defendants (18 legislators were investigated) charged in Lost Trust. Most were convicted of bribery for accepting cash payments from FBI operatives or related charges.

SLED investigations produced results in allegations of public corruption but many were beyond the agency's notice or resources. Even with FBI assets, the investigations almost certainly left corruption unidentified. The description offered by former Common Cause director John Crangle described how extensive and intricately interwoven were the relationships among different persons involved with various

facets of the Lost Trust investigation. Ron Cobb was a former legislator and lobbyist, and became an FBI informant after selling cocaine to an FBI agent in 1989. Sen. Jack Lindsay was a powerful state legislator, attorney, and the intended victim in an unsuccessful kidnapping. Dick Greer was chairman of the State Development Board. Rep. Jack I. Rogers was speaker pro tempore of the S.C. House of Representatives and an attorney.

The media were intrigued by the unclear relationship between Cobb and Sen. Jack Lindsay brought to light by Lost Trust and the tax break scheme. Both were known to have helped. Hitachi Corp. in its fight with IBM to obtain millions of dollars of mainframe computer contracts with the state government. . . And it was known for several years Cobb had worked for National Advanced Systems, an arm of Hitachi, to get contracts for equipment purchases with the state. In fact, the Budget and Control Board, Clemson University, the Highway Department, and the departments of Social Services and Education had bought millions of dollars worth of Hitachi equipment... Jack Lindsay and Jack I. Rogers helped get \$3.9 million from the Economic Development Account to build state roads in Marlboro County where Lindsay and Rogers lived. Cobb was employed by the S.C. Housing Authority as a lobbyist. At the same time, Cobb worked for Interstate/Johnson Lane, one of four underwriters employed by the Authority. Cobb lobbied for Cray Research, Inc., which was trying to sell supercomputers to the state while Lindsay promoted the buying of supercomputers in the Senate Finance Committee. Dick Greer supported the buy which fell through on objections by Fred Sheheen, Higher Education Commissioner. Rogers, Cobb, and Lindsay

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worked together on the retroactive \$8.6 million tax break for 21 taxpayers with Cobb being recommended to lobby the tax break by Dick Greer.¹¹⁸



Former SLED Chief Robert Stewart stands with SLED bloodhound.

Every law enforcement officer learns things about people that the general public doesn't know. Police officers see people at their best and their worst. SLED agents also hear from other police officers about wrong doing. Regardless of the source, law enforcement action cannot be taken unless a crime is involved, and simply because something is strange or suspicious doesn't make it illegal. Since hearsay and unverified accusations can cause grave harm, requests from public officials for a SLED investigation normally must be in writing. In this way SLED seeks to discourage abuse.

Under Gov. Campbell, an important long existing issue was addressed. Problems were exposed with the non-compensated constable commission during the Edwards administration. Many private citizens and even high public officials still held the non-compensated commissions. Among those who held honorary commissions was former Gov. James Edwards, who was by this time president of the Medical University of South Carolina. But earlier in 1989, there were 1,611 other constables certified through the Criminal Justice Academy. Examples of these constables included public sector and certain non-governmental

organizations employees. Chief Robert Stewart encouraged constables who have a commission to carry a gun to apply for a concealed weapon permit instead, and he asked the governor for help.¹¹⁹

Administrative matters concerning constables and other issues notwithstanding, day to day operations continued. Investigations and requests for assistance were the norm. But being shot is never the norm for those on the receiving end. SLED agents, Doug Hixson and Victor Guinyard, were shot while running with the agency's bloodhounds during a manhunt in June 1991. Both survived. They were not, however, the only agents shot while pursuing suspects. Another would follow within two years. At the time Hixson and Guinyard were shot, the late Hugh Munn, a spokesman for the agency said, "It happens, not frequently, thank the Lord, but it happens."¹²⁰

Even though agents deal with dangerous people they rarely respond to domestic disputes or make traffic stops – two incidents often involved in the injury or death of police officers. Although they were not the first responders to a domestic dispute call, Hixson and Guinyard were sent to pursue and apprehend a domestic violence suspect, who shot a woman and kidnapped her two years old son. The agents found him while searching a house under construction where the suspect was hiding. SLED agents often have the opportunity to anticipate and plan for dangerous assignments. But you never know for certain what a suspect might do.

Munn, a former newsman, who became SLED's first and long-serving public information officer, was credited as being someone the news media trusted. About this time he was said to be the most quoted person in South Carolina. Munn did not often speak of this but expressed concern when the topic arose that someone might think the governor is the one who should be quoted most often.

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In 1993, about four years after changes were implemented for non-compensated officers, the size of the volunteer force of state constables had decreased largely following changes requiring officers pay for training at their expense. Chief Robert Stewart said, "Now, unless they run into an absolutely life-threatening emergency, they are not allowed to do anything unless they are working with a certified police officer."¹²¹

A gubernatorial executive order was issued and was followed by SLED regulations further reforming the governor's program for state constables. It created categories for state constables. The *Greenville News* described the categories this way: "There are three types of constables in South Carolina: Type 1 constables deal with state entities. Type 2 constables, are retired law enforcement officers usually commissioned as an honorary title. Type 3 constables donate their time and expenses working with local law enforcement."¹²² The last type had to receive initial and regular periodic training. They may engage in law enforcement duties when requested by a police agency agreeing to provide supervision. They wear uniforms.

The first type offers a means to provide law enforcement authority to police officers employed by non-police agencies. This type of constable is certified through the Criminal Justice Academy. Examples of these officers, at times, included campus police officers at colleges and universities, Public Service Commission officers, and investigators for the state Department of Health and Environmental Control.^{xxv} This use of the constable commission for this purpose meets the need that exists with some non-police agencies for some of its employees to be sworn law enforcement officers.

The second type is for retired law enforcement officers. Mostly, it assures the former officers of the authority

^{xxv} In a story dated August 1, 1989, the *Greenville News* reported there were 1,611 state constables in this category.

to continue to carry a firearm, although this could be accomplished with a concealed weapons permit. However, a current federal law grants nationwide authority for retired law enforcement officers to carry concealed handguns.^{xxvi} All constable programs are administered by SLED on behalf of the governor.

Late in August 1993, another SLED agent was shot. Roger Owens was shot and survived to become a major with SLED. Owens, along with SLED SWAT team members, was attempting to apprehend a North Carolina prison escapee. The prisoner and his female accomplice shot a prison guard during the escape and after crossing the state line were pursued by SLED. Using a rifle, the suspect shot a SLED helicopter providing air support, while Owens was shot with a shotgun. The suspect was killed by agents.

Addressing reform for the governor's non-compensated constables was only one of many improvements affecting SLED Campbell obtained. Position classifications for agents were upgraded to provide a more structured process for advancement from new to journeyman agent. Campbell supported accreditation of the agency and its laboratory. The government restructuring of 1993 granted SLED expanded powers, without which SLED could not operate as effectively. Exclusive jurisdiction was granted in some circumstances and other state level police agencies were required by statute to assist SLED when requested. Clearer definition of roles for the state level police agencies were crafted, giving SLED the broadest latitude for investigations and the term of office for chief was set at six years. Modeled on the FBI, appointments as chief would no longer correspond with the governor's term. Agents from the former Alcohol and Beverage Control Commission were transferred to SLED along with the title and license fraud unit of the Department of Motor Vehicles. Remarkably, all of

^{xxvi} The Law Enforcement Officers Safety Act (LEOSA) is a federal law, enacted in 2004, that allows qualified current law enforcement officers and qualified retired law enforcement officers to carry a concealed firearm in any jurisdiction in the United States, regardless of state or local laws, with certain exceptions.

these changes occurred on Campbell's watch. His terms saw much progress made at SLED. But all who want change face opposition from those who prefer no change, and it is unclear what more Campbell might have hoped for that was simply not possible.

Near the end of Campbell's term, the horrible murders by drowning of two innocent children were committed by their mother in Union County, triggering massive national media interest in the investigation that followed. On October 25, 1994, Susan Smith told police she had been carjacked by an African-American man who took her sons along with the car in which they were traveling. She dramatically asked for the rescue and return of her children. Skeptical from early on, law enforcement had no choice but to take the report seriously.



Susan Smith

However, after nine days of exhaustive search and intense investigation, Smith confessed to SLED Lt. Pete Logan about letting her 1990 Mazda roll into the Union County John D. Long Lake with her sons inside. She was prosecuted by a former SLED agent and 16th judicial circuit solicitor, Thomas E. "Tommy" Pope. Later, Pope was elected to the state House of Representatives and subsequently as Speaker Pro Tempore of that body.

In 1997, the Confederate flag flew over the state capitol after being raised to that lofty position in 1962. Originally intended as a temporary measure, it remained there for decades. Gov. David Beasley (1995–1999) sought to move the flag to a Confederate memorial on the Capitol grounds after being influenced by racial incidents in the

state, including arsons at black churches. Extremists used the flag as a symbol of their radical ideology of white supremacy.^{xxvii}

South Carolina experienced the arsons as de facto race-based hate crime^{xxviii} that re-surfaced from past transgressions. Williamsburg County, like others, had its share of the hate-inspired crimes. Sandra Johnson in her book *Standing on Holy Ground, A Triumph Over Hate in the Deep South* wrote of the deeply personal offense involved with black churches being vandalized and burned by white extremists inspired and sometimes being led by the Ku Klux Klan.

Johnson wrote of two young white men who savagely beat a black man they randomly encountered on Highway 45 and decided to follow this crime with another sort. This time *Tim and Chris* were still inspired by the KKK, but they had a different target in mind. "N....r churches were evil. N.....s worshiped the devil in them. When they went into them, they were taught how to plot the destruction of the entire white race."¹²³ A chillingly prescient commentary was made 20 years before the terroristic event in Charleston with the killing of the "Charleston Nine."^{xxix}

Arson investigators from SLED, along with investigators from local and federal agencies, worked to identify and bring to justice key offenders in the arsons. While not all the arsons were racially motivated, Gov. Beasley made this a top priority, his direction was unnecessary for SLED agents to put their all into resolving

^{xxvii} Gov. Beasley's proposal to transfer the flag from the capitol dome to a statehouse memorial site was not signed into law until the administration of Gov. Jim Hodges.

^{xxviii} South Carolina is one of five states without a statute criminalizing various types of bias-motivated violence or intimidation. All of the hate crime statutes cover bias on the basis of race, religion, and ethnicity. Some also cover sexual orientation, disability, gender, age, transgender/gender-identity, or political affiliation. The SLED Uniform Crime Reporting (UCR) Program will note hate crimes when informed by local law enforcement, but reporting tends to be sketchy without a statute on which to base such behavior.

^{xxix} Dylan Roof, a young white gunman, was convicted in the killing of nine people on June 17, 2015, when he opened gunfire at a historic black church in downtown Charleston.

these awful crimes. Eventually, perpetrators were identified and charged bringing the crime spree to an end.

If alcohol is a persistent threat in South Carolina law enforcement history, video poker might be seen as the most insidious vice-related threat to the general welfare of the modern era. This threat was successfully met head on under the Beasley administration in a long fight against advocates of the \$3 billion-a-year video poker industry. Many saw the video poker industry as inherently corrupting due to the addictive aspect of the game to often economically disadvantaged players and the enormous financial interests involved. Others worried that allowing video poker would be the proverbial camel's nose under the tent to allow new forms of gaming into the state.

Indeed, whether for video poker or other gambling initiatives, powerful South Carolinians have been wielding their influence on behalf of industry clients. In 1997, SLED conducted numerous investigations of violations of the state law involving video poker machines. Often beginning with an informant's tip, SLED would corroborate the information and obtain search warrants to look for video poker machines with names like *Cherry Master* and *8-Liner*. Hundreds of such machines were seized and ordered to be destroyed.

In 2000, a complicated legal story played out, ending with the demise of video poker. South Carolina has long prohibited gambling with a constitutional provision. Video poker machine operators pushed a legislative loophole in the 1980s, allowing players non-cash winnings in theory.

Cash was paid often in practice. But the distinction was used to let video poker operations sweep into every corner of the state. Video poker grew enormously but counter-groups emerged, wishing to outlaw video poker. A huge debate about individual liberty versus public morality began.

In mid-1999, the General Assembly put the video poker question to voters with a statewide referendum on a law to ban the industry. If the referendum passed, video poker would be illegal; but then in October, the South Carolina Supreme Court ruled that the video poker referendum was unconstitutional. This meant that video poker would be banned because voters could not choose to keep it unless the constitution was changed first. It was a great success for anti-gambling forces. But another battle remained before declaring victory.

Video poker machines owner Henry Ingram got a judge in South Carolina to issue an order that would have allowed the operation of the gaming machines to proceed. Learning of the lower court's order, Chief Stewart went to the home of State Supreme Court Chief Justice Jean Toal. He recounted the information and dispatched an agent to obtain a copy of the order in question. In turn, Chief Justice Toal contacted two other Supreme Court Justices. With the authority of the requisite court majority, a Supreme Court order was handwritten on a legal pad on Chief Toal's kitchen counter and video poker ended. Stewart called it the "Recipe for Justice from the Kitchen of Chief Justice Toal."

The 20th Century saw sweeping social changes hugely important to life in South Carolina. Some of the most notable changes included the widespread acceptance of alcohol, greatly improved race relations and civil rights, the still nascent labor movement, the Viet Nam anti-war movement, and firmly established pro-environmental activism. The list of significant social changes is long, and the topics stir passionate beliefs and action. SLED was regularly involved with the protest and disorder often accompanying these changes while simultaneously investigating the crime that is always part of life.

Interestingly, non-compensated constables continued to have a role even with sweeping changes taking place in

society. One of the largest deployments of non-compensated state constables, if it might be called such, occurred during the administration of Gov. Jim Hodges (1999–2003). The *Greenville News*, in May 2000, reported, "100 volunteer constables, who buy their own equipment, are expected to be among more than 300 outside officers helping local police with security for the Atlantic Beach Memorial Day Bike festival." Constables joined SLED agents, DNR officers, and Probation, Parole, and Pardon agents dispatched to aid Myrtle Beach police officers. In the uniforms required by SLED, constables performed tasks such as manning posts around the police department headquarters where they maintained surveillance for possible threats to the police. That such a role was necessary began several years earlier when two "outlaw" motorcycle clubs, the Hells Angels and the Pagans, had a dispute over which club could "claim" Myrtle Beach as its territory.

A new tolerance toward a form of limited legalized gambling emerged during the gubernatorial campaign between Beasley and the successful candidate, Jim Hodges. The newly elected governor had campaigned to make a state-run lottery legal in South Carolina. Gov. Hodges waged a successful TV ad campaign using satire indicating South Carolina was losing revenue to Georgia's state lottery.

Hodges wanted the revenue produced by a game that would become known as the "Education Lottery" to be used by schools. The plan was approved and proceeds allocated to education. The first governor to serve in the new millennium, Hodges had a successful and professional relationship with SLED. Interaction between the governor's office and SLED was normal. Both interesting and mostly routine cases were handled during Hodges term, including some he personally requested.

In one matter, the governor directed SLED investigate an allegation that the State Hospital released dangerous patients over objections of the institution's chief psychologist. While a somewhat unusual investigation, the

governor's instruction to SLED was fairly typical of how a governor might address a public safety concern. Governors looked to SLED to collect needed information and the chief of SLED reports findings back to the governors. Sometimes, this is delegated to staff on both sides. However, in most instances, it is the chief from whom advice on the matter is directly given to the governor. The chief of SLED is a senior member of state government with substantive experience in law enforcement.

The most important event occurring roughly halfway into Gov. Hodges' term was not in South Carolina but affected the entire nation: the terrorist attacks of 9/11. Governor Hodges appointed retired U.S. Army Major General Steve Siegfried as director of Homeland Security for the State of South Carolina in 2001. Gen. Siegfried rapidly assessed the critically of law enforcement to the mission of homeland security and sought help with the police and public safety agencies both within South Carolina and beyond. One man was better suited than any other to leverage operational knowledge and contacts in this sphere of responsibility. Clearly the best way to liaise with the law enforcement community was through Robert Stewart, and that is precisely what Siegfried did. Stewart, who also had prior experience as a fireman, became an effective force to implement the many measures necessary for the homeland security initiative.

It was in the context intelligence needs connected with the threat of terrorism, when former U.S. Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld famously said after the 9/11 attacks, "There are known knowns; there are things we know we know. We also know there are known unknowns; that is to say, we know there are some things we do not know. But there are also unknown unknowns — the ones we don't know we don't know."

Seeking to meet its new responsibilities in the post 9/11 world, SLED began implementing changes so that it might help provide address intelligence requirements, the information needed to protect the homeland. But the next

governor would not follow the established pattern for receiving advice as rigorously as did his predecessors.

The administration of Gov. Mark Sanford (2003–2011) with respect to SLED can best be described as somewhat mixed. SLED established a "Fusion Center" to facilitate intelligence information collection, analysis, and exchange. The FBI coordinated the installation of a Sensitive Compartmented Information Facility or "SCIF" within the Fusion Center.

Gov. Sanford wisely reappointed Robert Stewart as chief. But some felt Sanford's management style favored his own counsel over the advice of others. Effective working interaction among the branches of government, particularly between the executive and legislative, was awkward at times. Sanford once carried two squealing piglets into the statehouse in a publicity stunt seen directed against the General Assembly.

This approach sometimes made interaction with the General Assembly challenging for agencies reporting to the governor.^{xxx} Contributing to this perception, Sanford, at times, seemed not to listen to the counsel of his own appointees. Stewart, who served both as SLED chief and head of Homeland Security for the state under Sanford, might on occasion have found his advice unheeded. Disregarding advice from a highly respected veteran leader in a field where the governor has no experience was a departure from tradition. After all, the chief of the state's law enforcement division had reported to the governor since 1868 and had served, at least since J.P. Strom was sent to Mississippi, as the de facto law enforcement adviser to governors.

At a meeting where improvements in statehouse security recommended first by a U.S. Secret Service review,

^{xxx} SLED is not a cabinet agency. However, the performance review of the chief of SLED is conducted by the governor.

later by Department of Public Safety^{xxxI} director Jim Switzer and Stewart were discussed, Sanford quipped he had not heard of violent crimes at the state capitol. Uncharacteristically blunt in reply to a governor, Stewart was concerned about the safety from all threats, including those posed to people using the parking garages late at night, and asked, "How many do you need?"

Sanford did not want Stewart to retire. But Stewart had served nearly 21 years as chief, a tough job, and he was ready for retirement. Throughout his tenure, Stewart was constantly ready and available to respond to any crisis where needed by his state or governor. Having once served as a fireman, he never lost the fireman's need to be prepared to jump into "turnout gear" and head for the fire. Governors were grateful for such dedication.

Before Stewart retired, South Carolina saw another state constable die. State constable Robert Bailey was shot with a .45 caliber handgun and killed on May 14, 2007. Bailey, a former deputy sheriff, was volunteering with the Dorchester County Sheriff's Office when he stopped a suspicious vehicle and came under gunfire. His killer and four others helping him took Bailey's body several miles away where they buried the body in a shallow grave. While non-compensated constables are not, strictly speaking, part of the SLED organization, they share a common heritage. Everyone feels the loss of an officer killed while in performance of duty.

When Stewart did retire Sanford appointed a man with legal credentials as a state judge and as the United States Attorney for the District of South Carolina. But Reggie Lloyd had no practical law experience as a *gun toting* law enforcement officer, putting him at a disadvantage with the culture of the state's law enforcement community. He made unpopular changes in case acceptance policy and personnel. As a result, employee morale and relations with other law

^{xxxI} The Department of Public Safety's component agency, the Bureau of Protective Services, is responsible for daily security at the statehouse.

enforcement agencies became strained during his administration. While some felt Lloyd properly did not waste time on matters better suited to local law enforcement, others felt SLED's effective relationships with sheriffs and chiefs of police were lost during Lloyd's tenure.

Law enforcement practitioners find personal connections help advance mutual law enforcement interests. Some, particularly sheriffs, were offended by an approach to interagency relations that appeared contrary to established SLED custom, which sought to foster close relationships with the sheriffs and chiefs.

A few thought Lloyd wanted SLED to operate more like the FBI. While having many similarities to the federal agency and once considered for a shift to a *state bureau of investigation*, there generally was an adverse reaction to the idea of making SLED more FBI-like. Some law enforcement executives believed this might mean SLED would be less available for the services they wanted.

Lloyd decided to allow SLED's accreditation with the Commission on Accreditation for Law Enforcement Agencies (CALEA) to expire and chose not to seek renewal. His changes in personnel were often viewed with suspicion both within and outside the agency. Lloyd resigned after serving three years and returned to private practice as an attorney.

Gov. Nikki Haley (2011–2017) appointed DPS Director and former longtime SLED agent Mark A. Keel in 2011 as chief of SLED. The appointment met with widespread approval from the law enforcement community. Keel soon set upon restoring relations with other agencies and shoring up morale among employees. Another first step taken was obtaining reinstatement of the agency's CALEA accreditation. The agency has flourished under Keel's leadership.

Confidence in the agency appears strong as old and new threats, including violent conspiracies, emerge to trouble law enforcement. More than twenty years after the

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Hells Angels and Pagans confronted each other and law enforcement, SLED joined with the FBI, the ATF, the Lexington Police Department, the Lexington County Sheriff's Department, the York County Sheriff's Department, and the Rock Hill Police Department in a joint investigation of the York County based Hells Angels' Nomads' racketeering activity across South Carolina. Members of the group were convicted in federal court on charges they engaged in drug dealing, money laundering, firearms trafficking, use of firearms related to crimes of violence, drug dealing, attempted armed robbery, arson, and other offenses.

Investigating crimes by violent motorcycle gangs is in some ways less dangerous than inquiring into public corruption. Normally, less physically threatening, persons who violate the public trust often have influence over the agency's budget. It does not have to involve direct control over the budget; it can be much more subtle.

The deaths on June 17, 2015 of nine church parishioners gunned down at the Mother Emanuel AME Church in Charleston had a profound impact on South Carolina. The victims were killed by Dylann Roof, a 21-year-old white supremacist, who was sentenced in January 2017 to death and awaits execution. Gov. Haley called for the removal of the Confederate flag from the statehouse grounds where it had continued to fly after removal from the capitol dome. This time sentiment shifted to favor its total removal from the statehouse complex. In July 2015, a solemn ceremony, attended by both those supporting and opposing removal of the flag, took place to furl the flag under security provided by SLED, the Highway Patrol, Bureau of Protective Services, and DNR.

Both before the lowering of the flag and after a different type of challenge confronted Keel. Politically sensitive investigations have been regularly necessary and Keel made public integrity cases a top priority. In his first year as chief, SLED made 127 embezzlement, breach of trust and official misconduct charges involving public officials.

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These three offenses were not the only crimes committed by public officials.

Notable among the other investigations was that of Speaker of the House Bobby Harrell. As a result of the investigation, Harrell resigned his post as speaker and pled guilty in October 2016 to using campaign funds for personal use and false reporting of candidate campaign disclosures. Other difficult and sensitive cases followed.

Added to the ubiquitous cash from gambling and alcohol interests, enormous sums of money are also available from other special interests who advocate changing state law to make it more permissive of certain behaviors. Some are well-intended efforts for change that might be beneficial. However, it remains uncertain whether the interests of all special interests are equally altruistic.

Gov. Haley resigned to become the U.S. ambassador to the United Nations and Lt. Gov. Henry Dargan McMaster was elevated in 2017 to succeed her as governor. Previously, Gov. McMaster served as U.S. Attorney for the District of South Carolina and was later elected Attorney General of the state of South Carolina. His experience as the top attorney in South Carolina at both the federal and state levels is good experience to ensure, "The safety of the people shall be the supreme law."

Ever Stalwart

The landmark U. S. Supreme Court case of *Tennessee v. Garner* dealing with the use of deadly force against a fleeing suspect was not rendered until 1985. It held that the United States Constitution prohibited the use of deadly force by a police officer against a fleeing felon unless the felon represented a threat. It triggered the review and reform of the law enforcement *use of force* policies. But change in the use of force came to SLED much faster than had the progress, vis-à-vis Act 1240, in the organization's status as an independent agency.

After the death of J. P. Strom in 1987 and the appointment of Robert M. Stewart as chief, greater attention was given to such critical areas of police administration. The role and authority of SLED were clarified in state law, with exclusive jurisdiction granted to SLED unless assigned to another state agency by statute (Act 181, *South Carolina Statutes at Large*, 1993). In 1994, the agency and its crime laboratories received accreditations from the Commission on Accreditation for Law Enforcement Agencies and the Association of State Crime Laboratory Directors.

During the period Robert Stewart provided leadership, the agency conducted many high profile investigations involving public integrity and illegal drugs while continuing to support more common investigations of murder, burglary, arson, fraud, and so forth. Responsibility for alcohol enforcement had been transferred to the Alcohol Beverage Control (ABC) Commission but returned to SLED following a corruption investigation of the ABC Commission.

Other law enforcement agencies, prosecutors, and the courts respected the emphasis placed on conduct and discipline by Stewart, who served as chief for two decades. With Stewart and his management team, the organization advanced in status derived from the support of peers and saw a corresponding increase in professionalism.

Progress demands leadership. In the case of the South Carolina State Constabulary and South Carolina Law Enforcement Division, the most profound reform came from two prominent governors – Thurmond and Byrnes. They set in motion the significant changes that altered the organization of the constabulary and fixed its evolution to become the current SLED. However, the cumulative advances in professionalism and authorities under Campbell are equally significant.

Substantive reform of the state Constabulary was made in 1947. However, a comprehensive, legally mandated reform (i.e., required by statute) did not occur until 27 years later with the passage of Act 1240. The enactment of the requirement for the Senate's advice and consent to the chief of SLED appointment was 106 years after the state police first began. All reforms modified the law enforcement division operating either within the Governor's Office or under the direction of the governor. The constabulary, the law enforcement division of the Governor's Office, and SLED are merely variations in the name of the same governmental entity, for all intents and purposes. Successive changes to the entity can be seen as a process seeking improvement with none supplanting the organization. South Carolina's first state police force, organized in 1868, remains a changed functioning part of state government.

Five policy changes were critical in the evolution leading to the current South Carolina Law Enforcement Division. These changes included:

1. Thurmond's role in the transfer of the State Identification Bureau to the Governor's Office. The methods used in the work of the identification bureau were of a scientific nature and required specific knowledge, skills, and abilities, which compelled advanced training.
2. Byrnes' edict: "If local law enforcement officers failed to act and complaint was made to the State Law Enforcement Division, the offender would be arrested."

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This offered guidance to chiefs and clarified the state's role in law enforcement.

3. Byrnes' requirement for every person hired as an officer of SLED to be eligible to attend the FBI Training Academy set a standard in employment qualifications providing credibility to the agency.^{xxxii}
4. Hollings' direction that two black officers be hired as agents. This policy of equality in hiring lasted but grew slowly with respect to race and slower with regard to gender.
5. Act 1240. The act required Senate confirmation for the chief of SLED, and required a cause to dismiss agents. This elevated the status of the chief and improved the job security of agents, while requiring cause for dismissal of public employees is an elemental part of have a professional work force.

An unusual alignment of political conditions surrounding the possible election of Pug Ravenel as governor, believed by some to disfavor J.P. Strom as the chief, triggered a meaningful reform for the stability of the State Law Enforcement Division. Whether this was true might only have been certain to the late Ravenel. But J. P Strom must have believed it and decided what was needed was for the law to provide a role in his appointment by requiring Senate confirmation.

In 1974, unlike conditions in 1947, powerful members of the General Assembly, who previously took little notice, realized the importance of the governors' officers and authorized an enduring reform of the constabulary – proper establishment of the agency by statute. The name state *Constabulary* had been long discarded in favor of a contemporary-sounding name, one contributing to a perception of professionalism. With Act 1240, the General Assembly affirmatively decided, notwithstanding the

^{xxxii} While requiring all new agents eligible to attend the FBI National Academy set a concrete selection criterion, it was aspirational as a training standard since the number of candidates was limited by the FBI. The influence of the FBI National Academy on both selection and training proved to be lasting.

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transition in name, that it wanted to retain the organization the state Constabulary had already become – the South Carolina Law Enforcement Division. The state Constabulary was not supplanted; it was reformed. No longer enforcing the disagreeable dispensary laws or Prohibition, the constabulary became the unique state law enforcement agency that the General Assembly wanted.

Governors continue to issue commissions to SLED agents which state, "By virtue of the authority vested in me as Governor in and over the State aforesaid, I, reposing special trust and confidence in your ability, care, prudence and integrity, have constituted, appointed and hereby Commission you,"...as Agent of the South Carolina Law Enforcement Division. The faithful performance of duty by SLED agents and support members has served South Carolina for 150 years, as of the year 2018, and is the SLED story. It is a South Carolina story.



Chief Mark Keel

An agency beginning with the noble purpose of protecting the "new" black citizens after the Civil War evolved to an important and equally dangerous mission of enforcing the liquor laws from the Dispensary to Prohibition, to the current regulated alcohol industry. It proved to be an extremely dangerous vocation during the era of the constabulary. Ten officers, including the dispensary era constables, were killed in adversarial actions while

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investigating dispensary, prohibition, or liquor violations. Two modern-day non-compensated constables were killed by criminal adversaries while enforcing state law.

From these sometimes dramatic and sometimes humble years when the agency had a more limited mission, SLED has become a modern police agency close to what might be considered comparable to the FBI, when based on relative assets and authorities. Current agents have correspondingly greater responsibility and are more professional than ever. This was the intent of key governors and other leaders, who thought reforms in the best interest of South Carolina. While the constabulary had its problems, it is not to say that everything before SLED was bad and everything since good. Both constables and agents work on behalf of South Carolina, and the state is better for it.

To improve is to change; to be perfect is to change often. – Winston Churchill

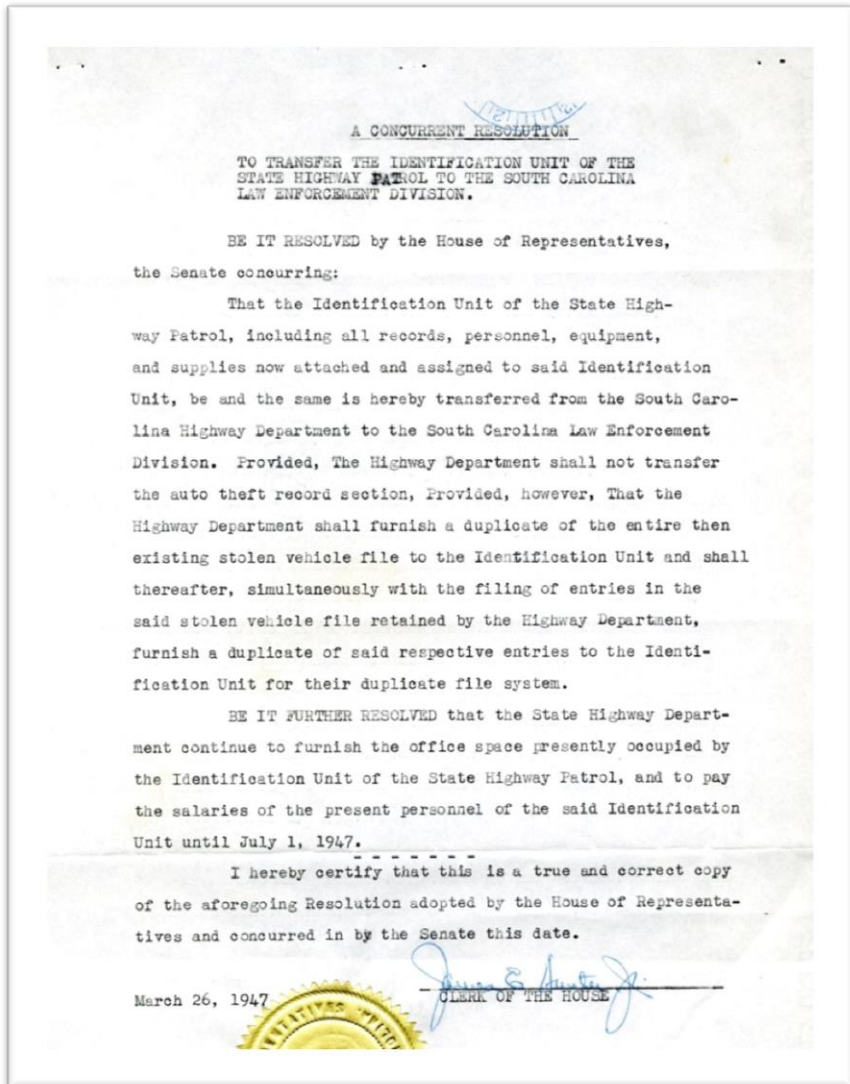
Appendix

Year	Key Constabulary or Law Enforcement Division Dates
1692	Constables Mentioned in Commons House of Assembly Journal
1868	State Constabulary Established (Act 11)
1893	Dispensary Constables Authorized (Act 313, § 43)
1923	Governor Authorized to Appoint Special Deputies, Constables (Act 91)
1935	State Constables Designated to Enforce Alcohol Laws (Act 232, § 21)
1947	State Bureau of Investigation Debated Identification Bureau Transferred to Governor's Office Joel D. Townsend Appointed Chief
1949	O.L. Brady Appointed Chief
1951	Byrnes Described a New Role for Officers Byrnes Requested More Slots at FBI School
1953	Local Police Trained at SLED with FBI Assistance
1956	J.P. Strom Appointed Chief
1968	Widespread Protest Police Academy Funded Under SLED
1970	Criminal Information and Communications System Established (Act 1086)
1974	SLED Became an Independent State Agency (Act 1240)
1987	Robert Stewart Appointed Chief
1993	SLED Granted Certain Exclusive Jurisdiction (Act 181)
1994	SLED Accredited by CALEA SLED Crime Laboratories Accredited by ASCLD
2003	SLED Leads State Counter Terrorism (Act 90)

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2008	Reggie Lloyd Appointed Chief
2011	Mark Keel Appointed Chief

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A concurrent resolution called for the transfer of the identification bureau of the Highway Patrol from the Highway Department to the South Carolina Law Enforcement Division.

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Many of the SLED graduates of the FBI National Academy (FBINA), DEA National Academy (DEANA), and Southern Police Institute (SPI) pose for a photograph taken at SLED HQ on August 5, 2016.^{xxxiii}

^{xxxiii} L–R, FRONT ROW, William A Jolley (FBINA 146), Joseph W. Dorton (FBINA 119), Carlton Medley (DEANA), Mark A. Keel (FBINA 198), Robert M. Stewart, Sr. (FBINA 97), John T. Bishop (FBINA 253), SECOND ROW, G. Frank O’Neal (FBINA 233), Steven A. Smith (FBINA 155), James B. McClary (FBINA 192), Tamara P. Baker (FBINA 229), Carlotta C. Stackhouse (FBINA 185), Mark W. Huguley (FBINA 166), THIRD ROW, L. J. “Chip” Johnson (FBINA 216), Carl B. Stokes (FBINA 68), Teresa Marie Woods (FBINA 217), FOURTH ROW, Paul A. Grant (FBINA 212), BACK ROW, Steven Wright (FBINA 192), Steve Norris (DEANA/SPI), Marvin H. Dawson, Jr. (FBINA 121), Benjamin F. Thomas, III (174), Ron Cook (SPI), Walter G. Powell (FBINA 81), Sidney R. Wrenn (FBINA 90), Claude Hair (SPI), George C. Faulk (FBINA 129), James K. McKenzie, Jr. (FBINA 230), Richard E. Hunton, Jr. (FBINA 227) and Henry W. Sinclair FBINA 142). (Photo courtesy of C.R. Wade)

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